ANOTHER HITLER

Report by his architect Hermann Giesler

Nothing has done more damage to the history of great architecture than the belief that it is the history of building techniques rather than the history of architectural ideas, which took their technical means of expression wherever they found them.
Oswald Spengler, "The Decline of the West," I, Macrocosm.

ANOTHER
HITLER
REPORT BY HIS ARCHITECT HERMANN
GIESLER
Experiences, conversations,
reflections LEITFADEN-VERLAG
ASSENHAUSEN

Photos from the author's archive
International Standard Book Number ISBN
3 8061 0822 6
19 77
All rights reserved ? ©Druffel-Verlag, 8131 Leoni Total production:
Landsberger Verlagsanstalt, Landsberg a. Lech Printed in Germany

Preliminary

"No one can judge history except those who have experienced it themselves." Goethe, who noted this thought in his Maxims and Reflections, was able to ignore the flip side of the sentence: everyone experiences the history they are capable of. For the nature and scope of historical experience are determined not only by the extent of one's knowledge and intellectual gifts, but also by the character traits that encompass them, which determine what the attention of the actor and sufferer is directed toward and in what way he becomes productive in his world. Conversely, although even for the wandering rat

The rule that "travel broadens the mind" applies, she finds, as a modern fable* tells us, in all cities, where she finds nothing but rubbish heaps, and on her return home she is easily recognized by her peers from her smell alone.

Even the nature and content of mere memory are already characteristics of the person, and it depends on nothing else but their value whether the transmission of their historical experience is worthwhile. Anyone who has even skimmed through the memoirs of recent times knows that this statement is true, and will understand the Englishman David Irving when he says that he was "horrified and, as a historian, depressed" by the many falsified "diaries" published as contemporary historical sources.

Such memoirs often serve to exonerate their authors, in most cases logically by accusing others, an embarrassing process that can lead to nothing sensible. For those who study history are not content to point the finger at those responsible, just as they cannot avoid such judgments.

those responsible, no matter how much they may be unable to avoid such judgments. But they will make their case with very different feelings than the prosecutor, who, by virtue of his office, always knows that he has the sacred right on his side.

The formula "Hitler is to blame," which was so convenient for the defeated after 1945 and, in the long run, also for the so-called victors, and which Speer still used in 1966 to conveniently explain his own confusing confessions of guilt, is not enough to justify a view of history that could make sense of the complicated and, for the most part, still hidden world-historical events of the middle of our century.

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It will be a great achievement for our understanding of the world if readers from a wide variety of backgrounds and with different views can share in the perspectives of these memories without getting involved in the disputes between those involved, who in some cases played a decisive role in the course of events. The violence and fragmentary nature of the superhuman efforts and suffering that are experienced in this book may shock or excite, but they are a monumental symbol of human life on this earth. This is what Ranke meant when he impressed upon the reader in the preface to his Walrenstein monograph: "How much more powerful, deeper, and more comprehensive is the general life that fills the centuries in an uninterrupted stream than the personal life, which is granted only a span of time, which seems to exist only to begin, not to end. People's decisions are based on the possibilities offered by general conditions; significant successes are only achieved with the cooperation of homogeneous world elements; each person appears almost solely as a product of their time, as the expression of a general tendency that also exists outside them."

Hermann Giesler was born in Siegen, Westphalia, in 1898. His father and maternal grandfather were architects. In 1915, he left school to volunteer for the war and joined Pioneer Battalion 7. In 1917, he became a lieutenant in Pioneer Battalion 6, and during the last year of the war, he was trained as an infantry pilot. After the end of the First World War, he went to Munich in 1919 to attend the School of Applied Arts, later the Academy of Applied Arts, to become an architect like his brother.

He was deeply influenced by Academy Professor Eduard Pfeiffer, a demanding and sensitive architect whom he has revered as a great teacher ever since, but also by Riemerschmid, who later established the Cologne Werkschulen, Preetorius, from whom he learned type design, graphic design, and art history, and Berndl, the architect of the Mozarteum in Salzburg. At university, he attended lectures by Wölfflin, whose art history and new principles of style research have influenced the interpretation of other sciences, such as theology and various philologies, right up to the present day. Wölfflin's categorical distinction between the Renaissance and the Baroque also forms the background for the contradictions in this book, e.g., with some of Speer's misguided assertions.
in this book, for example with some of Speer's misguided assertions. Giesler was greatly influenced by his encounter with
Oswald Spengler, whose public discussions he attended in Munich's Rat- haussaal in 1919 and with whom he had personal conversations in the Kaulbachklause.

After completing his studies, he married in 1923. The marriage produced two sons. In the same year, he joined the office of the Augsburg architect Julius Th. Schweighart, with whom he remained associated for many years. In 1926, he became head of Schweighart's architectural office in Berlin. From 1930, Giesler worked as an independent architect and ceramist in the Allgäu region.
Giesler actively joined the National Socialist movement, whose goals he had been committed to from the outset. In 1933, he became district architect in Sonthofen. Over the next few years, he achieved success in important architectural competitions, whereupon he became an independent architect again.
As a still unknown architect, he pushed through the construction of the Ordensburg Sont- hofen, and in 1936 he was successful against considerable competition with his designs for the Gauforum Weimar against considerable competition. He became a professor in 1937 and won a Grand Prix and a gold medal for his architecture and models at the Paris World Exhibition. In 1938, he was commissioned to design the German buildings for the next World Exhibition in Rome in 1942. In 1937/38, he rebuilt the Elephant House in Weimar and designed the Gauforum for Augsburg. In the competition for the Hohe Schule am Chiemsee, he was awarded the final commission. At the end of 1938, he was commissioned to redesign Munich and was appointed General Building Officer by decree of Hitler. In 1939, he was entrusted with the buildings on the Obersalzberg.
In the fall of 1939, Giesler took on war-related work in addition to his peace tasks. He was initially involved in the Luftwaffe construction program. In 1941/42, he led the "Giesler Construction Group" in the Baltic States, from 1942 to 1944 he was head of the OT Task Force Russia-North, and from 1944 to 1945 he was head of the
OT Task Force Germany VI-Bavaria and Danube Region, as well as General Plenipotentiary for Construction (GBBau) for this area.
From 1940, he was tasked with redesigning Linz on the Danube. Some of the last photos of Hitler show him in the bunker of the Reich Chancellery in Berlin, in front of models of his architect's plans.
In 1945, Giesler was taken prisoner by the Americans as an OT leader. He spent the months from autumn 1945 to spring 1947 in prisons, camps, and cages run by the CIC. In May 1947, he was declared a war criminal by the Dachau Military Court and sentenced to "life with hard labor." The Americans delivered him to the War Crimes Prison in Landsberg/Lech. At the end of 1952, they released him from there; the German authorities recognized his time in custody as prisoner of war. After a two-day hearing, the Munich Main Court of Appeal dismissed the denazification proceedings against Giesler. The Federal Republic of Germany has since retained the most valuable part of his former property, insofar as it has not been lost. He works as a freelance architect.

Giesler's personal notes and work documents were, of course, lost in 1945. However, readers will find that his memories are also based on numerous sources that have been preserved. The decrees and reports cited are available to the author, at least in photocopies. In many cases, these documents were only found after the memoirs had been written, without any corrections being necessary. Former colleagues of Giesler have also confirmed relevant information. In general, the source situation is much more favorable than some contemporary historians would have their readers believe. David Irving's ironic remark that they had lamented "with relief" that most of the documents had been destroyed* is directed at them. In favor of those who are the target of this accusation, it should first be assumed that previous omissions were due more to a lack of foresight.

However, the good memory on which historical science so urgently depends is not merely a gift from heaven, but is built up to a considerable extent through diligence and methodical work. This also applies to the author of a memoir. Immediately after meetings with Hitler, Hermann Giesler communicated the content of such conversations to his colleagues in detail, often in repeated meetings and discussions and additionally in written form. This kind of information sticks in the mind. In addition, Hitler's instructions had practical effects, some of which were reinforced by consequences and can be easily verified. This enabled Giesler, from the beginning of his imprisonment, to conduct conversations with his fellow prisoners in Heidelberg and Bruchsal, in Ludwigsburg, Zuffenhausen, and Dachau, even without written documents, and to consolidate his memories of what he had personally experienced. This and nothing else is the subject of this book.

In Landsberg, his friend, Professor Dr. Franz Alfred Six, urged Giesler to write down his memories. These notes were destroyed, some of them several times, but they further strengthened his memory and preserved the smallest details, enabling Giesler to contradict other publications most emphatically on some questions of dating and in the reproduction of statements. His conversation partner notes with amazement that he notices passages in texts that were changed from the original version when they were officially published before 1945 and are now published in the official version of that time.

After his release from Landsberg, Giesler began systematically taking notes in 1953 and organizing them in a card index. This card index is the direct basis for the present book.

An example of how this came about is the story of Hitler's order to build his tomb in Munich. Hitler gave Giesler this order in a most memorable way on June 24, 1940, in Paris; but even before that, on

June 21, 1939, during a conversation about the redesign of Munich at the Berghof, he had quickly sketched a plan showing a smaller building with a square floor plan. Hitler did not mention the purpose of the building. After Giesler received the commission to build the tomb, he remembered this sketch and wrote a memo about the entire process. All this had made a deep impression on him. In 1976, when Giesler had largely completed his manuscript and contradicted the claims made by Fest and his source Speer about Hitler's alleged tomb in Linz, he found Hitler's sketch and his own file note in the Munich State Archives.
Hitler's sketch of his fist and his own file note in the original*. Just as the author's accuracy of memory has been confirmed here, he expects that in other controversial cases his account will justify itself in the future.
There are also cases in which the source for a description could only be identified retrospectively. This applies, for example, to Hitler's retelling of an anecdote about Gulbransson. Giesler assures us, however, that Hitler told the story exactly as he recorded it. The reader can now find Gulbransson's original for comparison in the notes*.
Even in the discussion of stylistic details, it has been shown repeatedly upon review that Giesler remembers much more than just the mere content of his conversations with Hitler. For example, it has been proven that Hitler constantly used the term "Iron Curtain" to describe the shielding of Russia from the West. Research has shown that this is not only due to his detailed knowledge of theater construction, but that the figurative use of the word in the political sphere can be traced back to long before Hitler. The same applies to neologisms such as "environmental design" and "environmental protection," "lightweight concrete" and "large-capacity containers," and other, particularly technical terms for which a terminus post quem from 1945 onwards might initially have been assumed. They were definitely introduced before 1945.
Giesler's memory has another peculiarity that had a decisive impact on the memoir: it does not record the abstract content of a conversation, but rather notes it directly in direct speech, as it were. This is not only familiar to everyone who spoke with Giesler, but is also easily verifiable for historians who rely on the source value of such statements: the surviving file notes and other original documents written by Giesler during his main period of activity use direct speech in the same way as this book to record conversations and instructions.
It therefore made no sense to transcribe conversations that, in direct speech, have retained the color of a conversation in the indirect

Transposing speech to indicate that the wording was recorded from memory and does not come from written sources. The reader will keep this in mind anyway, since the fate of the author did not allow for any other form of transmission. In return, one will find that even in the parts of the conversation that are only indirectly represented,
conversations. This characteristic of the author has definite advantages for reconstructing the atmosphere. For these reasons, quotation marks are only used for quotations that have been handed down in writing and are documented. In cases where the speaker could be confused, such as in a quotation reported in a conversation, simple quotation marks are used to distinguish between speakers. In exceptional cases, for example when the verb introducing the quotation is missing, a divis is used.
Where a date is given under the heading of a section,
it refers to the events reported, the subject matter, and the main content of the conversations described. Hitler often repeated his basic ideas and modified them in various ways. They therefore appear several times in different contexts in Giesler's book. However, it is obvious that individual statements cannot always be dated with certainty here or there; if it is to be stated explicitly that a statement is authenticated for a particular date, this is indicated in the text or in the notes. Considering the long time that has elapsed since
the events described, the precise dating aids are still surprisingly numerous.
The repetition of some key ideas stems not only from history itself, but also from the fact that Giesler does not see himself as a chronicler. The architect, who has to design the spatial coexistence of things, sees the succession of events in time with different eyes than the politician who is, as they say, at the helm. The ancient human tendency to build for eternity is most forgivable in architects, even if the "Thousand-Year Reich" has fallen prey to the ridicule of the whole world. Since we usually settle down on the bench where the mockers sit, gifted with the windy wit of Rosenzweig and Güldenstern,
, the architect may exercise the ancient human right of planning sub specie aeternitatis. He also exercises this right incidentally in his book by not writing "how to play dominoes" or even "how coral polyps build," but rather "how an architect builds who has first drawn up his plan and thought it through in every detail." In this way, he establishes three interconnected structures in which the architectural elements of his world recur regularly, but in such a way that they serve three different areas of life as if in three separate wings of a building: the core

tract, the second chapter, contains Giesler's experiences as a city planner and architect; he begins after the end of 1945 with his report de profundis, which descends into grotesque and absurd humiliation, and concludes with the military and geopolitical aspects of his memories. The digression after the second main chapter is, to put it bluntly, merely an addition to the monument. It will perhaps provide the most food for discussion for his contemporaries
most food for discussion and is therefore "necessary," but from the distance of posterity, most of the details will be superfluous.

It is not everyone's job to verify the trustworthiness of a representation. In rare cases, it may even be impossible to see through cleverly presented lies, although even today it is still true that lies have short legs. However, those involved in politics and history, like professional historians studying sources, have no choice
reproduce the events and actions that make up history as vividly as possible and, on that basis, arrive at criteria for determining the truth*.

Anyone who tries this test on the widely read books by Speer, for example, will easily discover that the decisions made before 1945 and the events of the Second World War are completely incomprehensible from the perspective of a man released from prison
and victim of imprisonment. This problem runs deeper than the horror expressed by David Irving, who has already been quoted several times, about
the records falsified after 1945, of which he immediately provides a long list. The doubt extends much further, to the sources of the mode of expression that Goethe considered in his search for the truth of the natural sciences in his "Materials for the History of the Theory of Colors": "One should, it is said, adhere not to the word but to the spirit. But usually the spirit destroys the word, or at least transforms it in such a way that little remains of its former nature and meaning*." Speer's memoirs are therefore primarily a document of the year 1969; everything that lies behind them must first be deduced from them. But this is precisely what Carl Zuckmayer did with Speer's "Spandauer Tagebücher" (Spandau Diaries); they are related to his dramas, a piece of contemporary theater, effective on stage for a while, arbitrary as a historical representation, too factual for a work
work of fiction. Günter Zehm is outraged by Peter Weiss's Hölderlin, which, out of a blunt aversion to such literary creations,
Peter Weiss, in which the young Marx appears on stage contrary to all historical truth. "For an audience that only begins to warm to history when it is shown that it can be falsified and manipulated without hesitation proves only that history itself no longer means anything to it at all." He concludes from this that we are "maliciously indifferent to the past" and calls for the restoration of continuity. This is an uncomfortable proposition, but it is

the only way to "come to terms with the past." Von Studnitz put it succinctly: "Historical awareness requires understanding history as continuity and not as an assortment from which future generations can help themselves at will."
Speer and his co-authors are unclear about this issue, unless one quotes Duke Vincentio, who defends himself against the "poison of slander" with the words: "That is why you speak without insight; or if you have more sense, it is greatly clouded by your malice." Speer's vagueness and obfuscation are already evident in the preface to his "Memoirs": "I have endeavored to describe the past as I experienced it. Some will find it distorted, some will find my perspective incorrect. That may or may not be true: I describe what I experienced and how I see it today." But anyone who describes the past as he sees it today is not describing it as he experienced it. That is the reason for the distortion of perspective; for some, it is not an illusion, but for any reasonable observer, it is a regrettable flaw in his book.
Speer expresses himself quite unambiguously in the Spandau Diaries: "Either I write how I see it today, or I leave it out." From the historian's point of view, it is quite irrelevant how Speer or anyone else sees today what he did in the past. How he saw it at the time is history, and only that would be worth communicating.
else sees today what he did in the past. How he saw it at the time is now history, and that alone is worth communicating. Propyläen Verlag is trying to make a virtue out of necessity. With the unpleasant smell of sleaze that the tendency toward psychology easily takes on, the publisher is trying to make a virtue out of necessity.
Propyläen Verlag is trying to make a virtue out of necessity. With the unpleasant smell of sleaze that the tendency toward psychology easily takes on,
He explains: "Even if it weren't Albert Speer's book, it would still be of the utmost interest... it is the only detailed account we have of a prison sentence that lasted almost a lifetime... and so the question of who this prisoner was before he was convicted becomes irrelevant." Since historians can't focus on anything other than what the prisoner was like before the victors put him on trial, it becomes clear to them, at the latest when they admit defeat, that Speer's memoirs, as a representative
for a library of similar works, cannot be considered either an "insider's account" or a "sincere book," as the publisher boasts in the same place, if he takes his task seriously. Eberhard Wolfgang Möller already stated in 1970: "It's not that simple. No one can play a role in world history before God and man and then get away with a few penitent apologies."
But this is not about the Speer case, but about the problem of truth and fiction in memoir literature and its value as a source for those who want to gain an understanding of history. Perhaps it is necessary to illustrate what has been said with a harmless example that is not worth getting into a political or ideological dispute about.

Speer's account of his life begins with the following sentences: "On Sunday, March 19, 1905, at noon, I was born in Mannheim. The thunder of a spring storm drowned out the ringing of the bells from the nearby Christuskirche, as my mother often told me." Now, no one can be blamed for being a Sunday boy. More worrying is the time of day of this unusual birth, when Donar and Christ raise their voices, especially when one knows that the bells of the Christuskirche rang for the first time on the evening of September 30, 1911, on the eve of the solemn church consecration. No one will forget the charming old lady who brought into play here, punish lies; she may well have heard some other bells, even if not ones bearing the name of Christ. With Donar, on the other hand, it is correct. Admittedly, he did not arrive at noon, but only between three and five in the afternoon, but in terms of time he was definitely closer to the newborn than Christ*. Should anyone have been subtly led to particular views by the strange circumstances of the spear birth? The temptation is great. Let them now look within themselves and resolve to become a critical reader of all memoir literature post festum*.

For Hermann Giesler did not undertake the work and effort of writing this account the struggles and sufferings of a long life not to cast himself in any particular light, but to bear witness to the conditions in Germany before 1945 and in the years immediately following, for which countless others refuse to bear witness or distort it so much that it is a wonder to a foreign historian and every young Germanhow Hitler was able to win a single election in a nation of resistance fighters.

With the exception of a few explicitly marked passages, Giesler reports from the perspective of the respective present. He does not speak from a distance. He is aided in this by the directness of his memory. The diction and tone of the direct speech correspond to the manner of speech of the moment and the mood among the people involved, as he remembers it.

goes without saying that such a book is intended for today's readers, who are far removed from the events in terms of their entire way of life, even if they know nothing about them or only from hearsay. Neither

Giesler may be unnecessarily emphasizing a distance that he personally feels, nor should he dictate to his readers the nature of that distance. He would rather trust them to approach the material with the greatest possible independence. This includes the keen awareness that a memoir is not a historical account. That is the job of the historian, who evaluates the memoir as one of his possible sources. This status explains why the book includes a detailed index of names and a section of notes with source references,

related additions, and references, but no ambition to compile a bibliography of its own. Even if they want to gain something from memoirs, lay readers cannot read them any differently than experts. In this respect, they must be historians when they read.

The historian's approach is methodologically similar to that of the dramatic poet. He lets his sources speak like people, without interrupting them, and allows everyone else their right to reply, without necessarily agreeing with them. Only when the drama is vividly before his eyes does he seek to free himself from it, distribute and arrange the material according to his understanding, and finally, when the opportunity arises, pass judgment on it.

When Ranke, after years of painstaking study of documents on German history in the age of the Reformation, had come this far, he dared to express a great hope: "I see the time coming when we will no longer base our knowledge of recent history on reports, even those of contemporary historians, except insofar as they had original knowledge, but will build it up from the relations of eyewitnesses and the most authentic, most immediate documents."

let alone on further derivative works, but will be based on the accounts of eyewitnesses and the most authentic, most direct documents*."

What Ranke believed to be close to the representation of modern history at that time, we are still far from achieving today in the history of our own century.

Karl-Heinz Kausch

THE FRIEND FRANZ ALFRED SIX

Painted by Giesler in his cell in 1950

Over thirty years ago, I met Hermann Giesler on historic ground for the establishment of a German cultural institute. We had the common mission, assigned to us by Adolf Hitler, to record a Reich cultural work.

Our friendship was shaped by our shared convictions, victory, defeat, imprisonment, and reflection.

Our conversations in Landsberg revolved around our unshakable confidence in the unity of Europe, the rational content of our worldview, the inalienability of our technical goals—in short, the revolutionary meaning of the movement of our 20th century.

The years in Landsberg were years of steadfastness, of confirmation of insights once gained and of the correctness of revolutionary goals. The Landsberg years gave us the mandate to write down these conversations.

Dr. F. A. Six, former professor at the universities of Königsberg and Berlin, former envoy in the Foreign Office as head of the cultural policy department.

Kaltem, South Tyrol, 1974

A beginning after the end

War Crimes Prison Landsberg 1948

Adolf Hitler was undoubtedly a personality who faced the challenges of our century with full awareness, Franz Alfred Six told me as we walked around the courtyard of the War Crimes Prison in Landsberg.

What you have been able to convey to me so far has only strengthened my conviction that Hitler was a historical phenomenon that shaped the entire 20th century.

The parties in Germany today have now formed. They feel in tune with the times and emphasize this wherever they find the opportunity to do so. And yet they have their roots in the last century; I say this deliberately. Since they cannot deny these roots, nor do they want to, they strive to interpret their current position as a continuation of the developments that began in 1789 and 1848 and continued during the Kulturkampf under Bismarck. But consider this only as a hint, for we will discuss this in greater detail later.

Efforts will now be made to construct a new view of history and relegate Adolf Hitler to the 19th century. It will be our task to outline Hitler's historical profile, to characterize him as a social revolutionary who succeeded in overcoming class struggle, placing the idea of the Reich at the center of all ideas and leading the nation to unity.

I do not see Adolf Hitler as someone who has turned back, but rather, to use Nietzsche's words, as someone who has been thrown far ahead. I will probably have the opportunity to explain this in absolute clarity during the years I will spend in prison.

Giesler, you were his architect. What particularly impressed you about Hitler?

His compelling fascination! He exuded a charisma that I couldn't resist. How often did I experience this with others, too, when he spoke to soldiers he was awarding, to generals and field marshals he was giving orders to. This charisma was extraordinary. Perhaps that explains why no one was able to openly confront him with a weapon, look him in the eye, and then shoot him. I know what I'm talking about, and the proof is there—whether it was Beck or Halder, whether it was 19

Fellgiebel or Thiele, Tresckow or Stieff! Or should I name more names?
Oh, Stauffenberg? Yes, without a doubt a man of fanatical determination, Adolf Hitler said at the time, and there was no defense against such an assassin, except for a warning instinct or, ultimately, the protection of "providence." He added that determination, however, required total commitment. Simply planting the bomb was not enough.
In Cage Bruchsal, I met an old geezer, a general from the army reserve—not the Führer's reserve, he wasn't that important—who knew everything for sure: Stauffenberg would not have been physically capable of shooting Hitler with a pistol because of his war injury. I know, I said, he lost his right forearm, one eye, and two fingers on his left hand due to severe wounds. He drove
his car had driven over an English mine, which convinced him of the effectiveness of English explosives in a bomb. After all, it wasn't enough just to lay down the briefcase with the explosives and leave everything else to
'providence'! I told him this, remembering Adolf Hitler's remark.
And anyway, a bomb, like the anarchists, the Balkan terrorists, the Chicago gangsters use—that's not the weapon of an aristocratic officer, which is not only intended to eliminate the hated dictator, but also ruthlessly kills one's own comrades. Accordingly, there was no one among the conspirators who was willing to sacrifice himself, no one who would openly take up a pistol... The old general interrupted me sharply: "The bomb was the only way to eliminate Hitler," he said , looking at me sullenly. "Because shooting him was simply not possible; he was too well protected by the SS, and besides, he wore a bulletproof vest and an armored cap!" I asked him what kind of idiot he was to have let himself be taken in like that. Then he became emphatic. It was reliable, authentic information, he knew it from the best sources. To which I replied:
"General, you can hardly imagine how well informed I am!" How could he have known what I had experienced in the Führer's headquarters, that I had been able to read all the reports submitted to Bormann by Kaltenbrunner, and what Adolf Hitler had told me directly!
Of course, there are now many pompous windbags and buffoons who are beating their drums and boasting about what they were capable of in the resistance, what they dared to do, or even what they wanted
and boast about what they were capable of in the resistance, what they dared to do or even what they wanted to dare to do. We only need to remember these noblemen or think of those in our own ranks, such as Speer and his statement in Nuremberg, where he dragged the "taboo" raccoon dog behind him on a leash. Neither of us would have thought such a pathetic level possible. You must add to Hitler's historical profile: he was, after all, an armored carpet chewer.

Six was amused by my mockery, but stubbornly repeated his question. I returned to my starting point: Adolf Hitler impressed me with his powers of persuasion and his strength of will, which manifested itself
with his belief in his mission. Even after the undoubtedly great shock of July 20, less because of the assassination attempt itself than because something like this was possible at all, after all the disappointments and the obvious yet intangible betrayal, he did not lose faith
in the nation, in the German people, or in himself. The failed assassination attempt strengthened his belief in his mission.

I know what you want to ask, so let me tell you about a strange incident. In February 1945, I spent some time in Adolf Hitler's last command post, in the bunker under the garden of the Reich Chancellery. In a large basement room in the new part of the Reich Chancellery, I had built an extensive model of the Danube bank development in Linz. Adjustable spotlights simulated the sunlight at different times of the day on the model. Light and shadow revealed the rhythm of the building groups, and the plastic architecture was impressive.

Adolf Hitler would join me in the basement room between strategy meetings and often again after the evening tea hour, and discussed with me all the details of the redesign of "his" Linz based on the plans. But often he sat silently, lost in contemplation of the model. For him, it was a glimpse into a world of peace and reconstruction. Due to his life and work rhythm, which had been disrupted by reports from the front, this could be at 3 or 4 in the morning.

It was a special honor when he led one or another visitor, such as a general or Dr. Goebbels or Dr. Ley, into the model room after meetings. He took satisfaction in their surprise. I remember one evening, it was after what seemed to me to be an unpleasant report from Kaltenbrunner, who came out of the meeting room with a grim expression on his face. Adolf Hitler saw me through the open door:

"Come, Giesler, let's show the Obergruppenführer the model. Kaltenbrunner is from Linz, he'll be interested in the redesign of his hometown!"

It was a spontaneous decision, and the course of this model viewing left a particular impression on me.

The spotlights were turned on, and Adolf Hitler explained:

"In the morning sun, the Pöstlingberg is now shining, the group of buildings with the pilgrimage church in the center—now the gilded tower crown with the stylized falcons flying up on the tower on the Danube above Urfahr—now the Freinberg. There, Kaltenbrunner, you see the square building on the rock—that will be my retirement home! Now the sunlight is shining fully on the Danube and the buildings around it." He continued to describe his Linz.

As a commanding SS general with the stature of a decathlete and the cool, sober gaze of a lawyer—you know him!—the head of the Reich Security had entered the room. But now he was transformed, his eyes following every detail. He leaned over the model with Hitler to see all the details that were being explained to him.
I stood aside and took in this transformation. Adolf Hitler looked at his SS leader:
"My dear Kaltenbrunner, can you imagine that I could talk about my plans for the future like this if I were not deeply convinced that we will really win this war in the end?" As I said, this was in mid-February 1945! Adolf Hitler spoke calmly,
but convincingly, keeping his compelling eyes fixed on Kaltenbrunner, who was almost a head taller than him.
Six looked at me without saying a word. At that moment, the bell signaled the end of our stay in the prison yard. On the way back to the cells, I finished my report:
About eight days later, I drove to Munich with Kaltenbrunner. The nighttime drive was silent. When we said goodbye, he said:
"Now a new day of contrasts begins. The sober, harsh reports and the undeniable facts stand in contrast to the faithful confidence of the Führer."
I never found out what he really thought.
The whole thing is strange! said Six as we parted in front of the cells. The burial site
Adolf Hitler gave you unique tasks, remarked my friend during one of our subsequent conversations in Landsberg. Weimar, Augsburg, Munich, and Linz—which city and which plans there were Adolf Hitler particularly attached to, in your opinion?
Without a doubt Linz, his hometown, and especially the development of the Danube riverbank. But there were also some plans in Munich that particularly interested him. I would like to tell you about them, and it will lead you to say once again, "Strange" or "odd." But I must go into more detail.
Go ahead, we have plenty of time! I would like to expand my question, Six interjected. Which task was important to you? And in which building did you see the possibility of representing the unity you always talk about: a design in thought and feeling, in harmony with space and time and in accordance with the views to which we had committed ourselves?

First of all, I would like to state that I did not push myself into any of these tasks, not even into the competitions, after winning which I was then awarded the construction contracts.
This applies in particular to the redesign of Munich and the commission for Linz. And I have reason to emphasize this, because it was precisely this that led to heated disputes with Speer—but more on that later, that's a chapter in itself!
In Weimar, the task was to combine all the necessary party buildings into a square that would reflect both the nature of the party and the urban design and character of Weimar. In two competitions, which resulted from changes in the building program, I competed against a select group of architects who, due to their rank and, in some cases, their close ties to Weimar's cultural life, seemed predestined for this task. But that was apparently not enough. Strangely enough, their designs neither corresponded to the "spirit of Weimar" shaped by Goethe, Schiller, Herder, and Wieland, musicians such as Liszt, and ultimately the princes, nor did they correspond to the nature of the party, which this square, the hall, and the buildings were intended to serve as a whole.
of Weimar, nor did they correspond to the nature of the party that this square, the hall, and the buildings as a whole were intended to serve.
In Augsburg, the focus was less on shaping a square through the architectural representation of the party and more on an urban planning solution. The cityscape and the continuity of its magnificent architecture were at the forefront. The party's spatial requirements were combined in an eight-story high-rise building, with the lower floors still serving the interests of the city and Augsburg's industry, as was the hall, which was designated as the "city hall." "I don't want the party to take on a particularly important role here," Adolf Hitler told me.
," Adolf Hitler told me.
I had long avoided being commissioned to redesign Munich. There were various reasons for this. This task, it seemed to me, was beyond my capabilities. I still believed that when I started the work. But then my confidence grew, because I now had the partial plans with all the explanations from all the authorities that had been involved in the city's urban planning structures up to that point. Most of the plans were made by "specialist idiots," as they say. Each one for himself and, instead of Dieu pour nous tous, all against each other. This made it easier for me to organize the urban organism instead of letting arms grow out of the soft parts. I was able to determine the priorities, where the head and the tail had to be.
I understood my task: to preserve the unity of the city's design while avoiding monotony and originality, preventing sprawl, implementing traffic and industrial planning that would lead to a humane city form, connecting residential areas with green spaces, and above all, carefully protecting the old, traditional city structure and securing its urban character.

All the advice I had received from the best teachers during my studies in Munich now became the foundation of my urban design. At the same time, the orderly overall form of the city gave rise to significant architectural densification and dominant structures. This could have been triggered by traffic facilities, by the special nature of a street or square, by historical or political requirements, by buildings that had to serve cultural purposes, by structures
for the urban community, which were also intended to be architectural symbols of our community. This was also very much the case with the redesign of Linz on the Danube. But before I tell you about Linz, I would like to talk about a plan in Munich; its design was based on the unity of thought and feeling that interests you so much.
On the morning of June 24, 1940, we were standing in the Invalides in Paris. Already on the way to the crypt, Adolf Hitler pulled me to his side. And while we stared spellbound at Napoleon's sarcophagus, he said quietly to me:
"You will build my tomb, Giesler, we'll talk about it later!" Strange again, said Six, and on the day of the greatest triumph? And then?
That was the only thing he said. He stood there in awe, his head slightly bowed, his cap pressed to his chest. After a long time, he looked around the room, up at the dome of the cathedral, then back at the sarcophagus. He left the Invalides with a very serious expression. Outside the gate, he turned to us and said:
"Bormann, I want the Duke of Reichstadt to be transferred to Paris."
You are aware that everything must be carefully recorded, said Six, who had been listening attentively.
I've tried that repeatedly, even here in Landsberg, but they always took my notes away, first the CIC Makkabais, then the Christian soldiers here.
There must be a way to hide your notes or at least keep them outside the cell, where they are found every time you are searched. You are one of the few key witnesses! Because we can imagine what to expect from Speer on these matters, given his behavior in Nuremberg! Please continue, and in detail; we have years ahead of us.
It came as no surprise to me that after the Invalidendom, Adolf Hitler wanted to see the Pantheon above the Latin Quarter, the burial place of France's intellectual heroes. But it was a disappointment for him. He went up to the dome, took a quick, fleeting look around, and with a sudden movement left the sacred space. Outside, he visibly breathed a sigh of relief, spoke briefly with me about the Roman Pantheon – "How fortunate that this space has been preserved" – then pointed back: "This space here

is more than gloomy and oppressively damp! And yet it is a bright summer day!" Now I knew how he did not want his final resting place to be! "We'll talk about it later," he said, so I waited, remained silent for the following months, and found no reason to ask any questions. However, the idea that I would one day have to fulfill this task weighed heavily on me.

After the campaign in France, planning and construction of various buildings resumed. Despite the distraction of hard work, I continued to think about the form the burial site should take, which Adolf Hitler, as party leader, had envisioned in Munich, the city where he had built up the party. For the leader of the nation, this site would have been in Berlin. But even without his direct indication, I knew the location and the architectural context.

For his words, "You will build my tomb," were unambiguous; they meant that he did not see it in one of the temples of honor on the "Royal Square," as was often assumed. Rather, I was to create a new structure. And with that, the only possible spatial form was clear to me: above the many tombs of history—in the pyramids, the gigantic mausoleums of Augustus and Hadrian, surrounded by cypress trees, above the rotunda of Caecilia Metella, the stone tomb of Theodoric, the small crypt of Galla Placidia decorated with mosaics, above the burial chapel of Dante and the Medici and the crypts of sacred buildings of all ages, stood the Roman Pantheon, even if it only served as a burial place for Raphael and a king in Christian times: The unique creation of space in dignity and beauty, the convincing and spatially comprehensible synthesis of divinity and the universe, is how Adolf Hitler once described the Pantheon to me in memory of his impressions of Rome. This spatial form was probably the basic idea for the "burial place" from which I could start my design, whether in the classic round form, as an octagon, or in the strict outer form of a cube.

The external design and dimensions were then determined by the location and urban planning conditions. The burial site had to be in a meaningful spatial and organic relationship with the party buildings.

When I was assigned to Munich at the end of 1938, Speer handed me photos of Adolf Hitler's sketches, insofar as they related to my area of responsibility, "Munich." I looked through these photos again and found the connection: there was a rough floor plan and cross-section sketch for a basilica with the dimensions 120/240 meters. Below it, handwritten by Speer:

"Sketch for the Munich assembly hall, drawn at Obersalzberg on November 28, 1937." Here, Adolf Hitler's floor plan for the hall included a broad bridge over a street, suggesting a connection between the hall and the building opposite via the choir. A gallery hall built over the bridge would connect the two buildings, with the different building heights creating a clear interval between them.

would have connected the two buildings into a single spatial unit, with a clear interval between them created by different building heights.
Even clearer was a sketch by Adolf Hitler, with which he explained his ideas for a party forum in Munich to me in mid-1939.
There was again this bridge over a street – Gabelsbergerstraße, as I recognized from the overall context – and thus the connection between the large hall and a square structure sketched in the open space behind the Wittelsbach Palace.
Although—or perhaps precisely because—Adolf Hitler had added this structure to his sketch without comment and had not given any indication of its purpose later on, I instinctively grasped its significance. And the sketch handed to me by Speer made it clear that these considerations regarding the location and structural context of the burial site must have existed since at least 1937.
But first, I will describe the urban planning context of this project. The site for the "Party Hall" was planned for an area between Theresienstrasse and Gabelsbergerstrasse, east of the Alte Pinakothek, conveniently located at 11..nte.
Hitler's sketch for the party forum in Munich on the site of the former "Türkenkaserne." The Party Hall with the bridge over Gabelsbergerstraße to the burial site.
Bavarian Main State Archive? Adolf Hitler estate no. 47. 26

the junction between the old town center and Ludwig I's city ring road, also conveniently located for the mass transit system of the planned subway and underground railways.
Six interrupted me: "You must report on this in detail, because the as yet unresolved traffic issues – which are of course unimportant at present – will be the problem of the future."
Party forum in Munich. Also clearly visible in this sketch:
1. The hall with the bridge to the Führer's tomb over Gabelsbergerstrasse
2. the square in front of the hall,
3. the party forum, surrounded by corresponding buildings.
Here, for the first time on the evening of June 21, 1939, at the Berghof, following a lecture by me, the buildings required on the new axis from the main station to Pasing were ordered by the Führer as being of university or technical college importance, so that the DA? could erect the necessary buildings on this new axis. The Führer said: "I am convinced that Dr. Ley will seize this opportunity immediately, because the building possibilities he finds here are extremely limited.
The available space in no way corresponds to the construction possibilities of the DAF. Dr. Ley will respond: "My Führer, I am very grateful to you for giving me the opportunity to build in Munich in accordance with the importance of the DAF.
The Führer sums up by saying that the best use of the space would perhaps be to build the buildings still needed by the Reich Treasurer's Office and the Party Museum.
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Giesler's attached note. The second paragraph concerns the east-west axis.
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We dealt with that in detail at the time, I replied. But our plans are probably no longer being taken into account – I gathered that from the remarks of a Munich city councilor with legal expertise who wanted to talk to me here last year on behalf of the CIC.
The abandonment of the old "Türken-Kaserne" made it possible to open up the space. A spatial structure would be created, starting from the "Königlicher Platz," along Arcis Street with the extension buildings of the "Glyptothek," to the Technical University Now, turning eastward, the planned wing buildings of the "Alte Pinakothek" would enclose a magnificent open space, with the sculptural façade of the party headquarters, already under construction, forming the conclusion. Subsequently, work began on the square in front of the "Party Hall," creating a square structure of great tension.
There was an early example of this, albeit on a smaller scale: the medieval core of Verona with its interlocking open spaces, passageways, and halls. Here in Munich, this could be designed in a contemporary form and on a generous scale. When I had recorded my ideas, I remembered an aphorism by Nietzsche: 'We need to realize what our big cities are lacking: quiet and spacious places for reflection, with high-ceilinged, long corridors'.
The cities of antiquity had responded to this insight, but perhaps I saw it too idealistically. In any case, I sketched the "high-ceilinged hallways" as connections between the streets and squares, and at the same time as an open glyptotheque. I had small plasticine models made to illustrate the dimensions.
It seemed obvious to continue Ludwig I's urban planning ideas of a ring development, so that buildings serving the community and urban culture could later connect both Ludwigstraße and Brienner Straße. This also determined the location of the new Odeon—Munich's new and much-needed concert hall—which was sensibly situated close to Odeonsplatz and Wittelsbacherplatz*.
Now I should really sing the praises of the architectural beauty and atmosphere of these two squares and the adjoining Brienner Straße, masterfully designed by Ludwig I von Klenze. Of course, you know the context, don't you? At the end, or, depending on how you look at it, at the beginning of Ludwigstraße, there is the Hofgarten on the east side of Odeonsplatz, the Residenz, the Feldherrn-Halle at right angles to it, enclosing the square, and, with a vertical tendency, the Theatinerkirche.
It is no coincidence that I mention this, because this Munich peculiarity of architectural rhythms was one of the reasons for the design of the large hall, especially its interior.
Now let us move on from the idiosyncratic "square in front of the Feldherrn-Halle."

into Brienner Straße. It is framed by austere but harmonious buildings in the classicist style characteristic of Klenze. You have surely walked along here often, absorbed in your own thoughts, only unconsciously taking in the beauty of this sequence of spaces. The best part is the elegant Wittelsbacher Platz with the Arco-Palais and Thorvaldsen's equestrian statue of Elector Maximilian I.

After about 200 meters, you come to a long, green square on the left, which still reveals the former glacis, and at the end of which is the magnificent Wittelsbach Fountain by Hildebrand, an idealized representation of the former city moat.

We stopped, I picked up a piece of wood and drew the scene in the hard-packed sand of the footpath to illustrate it to Six:

Here, to the right, a square with chestnut trees opens up from the slightly angled Brienner Straße. I continued drawing: And here, behind the trees, lay the completely disused Wittelsbach Palace—lay, because, like the chestnut grove, it was completely destroyed by bombs. I didn't consider it a loss. The palace, with its

English-Flemish neo-Gothic style ? on Brienner Straße, it was a break in style. I didn't like the palace, especially not in its last use, ? you know what I mean.

Driving past—it was before the war began—Adolf Hitler once pointed to the palace and said, "That's where the hothead Ludwig I spent the last years of his life after his abdication, quite joyless, which was only exacerbated by this building, which did not suit his nature." When I began working on the "Party Mausoleum and Hall" in the fall of 1940, first in my mind, then in sketches and plasticine models, I was determined to demolish the palace, but I had no idea that Adolf Hitler had the same idea. This decision was not so much

so much triggered by the status of the new building as by urban planning considerations and the constraints of the design.

In 1871, the Commune destroyed the Tuileries Palace in Paris, and ten years later, the former prefect of the emperor, Baron Haussmann, requested that the burnt ruins be removed.

former prefect of the emperor, Baron Haussmann, requested the removal of the burnt ruins. Thus, the palace, which no one mourned, became the Tuileries Garden with its statues in the heart of Paris.

I planned to replace the Wittelsbach Palace with walls that were closed to the outside but open to the inside, creating spaces through halls. They were to enclose a quiet yet spacious garden area. Only then, after this necessary distance from the street and traffic, from everyday life, would the square, monolithic block of the "burial place" finally stand, with its flat dome, comparable in size to the Roman Pantheon.

Three years later, having long since put aside my plans and models, American bombers carried out the demolition order: the Wittelsbach Palace lay in ruins.

American bombers carried out my decision to demolish it: the Wittelsbacher Palace lay in ruins. I confess that I was relieved; but overall, I felt a growing sense of oppression that has never left me: destruction and devastation instead of construction and design marked the end of my time in Munich.
The guard on the tower had been watching us closely, but we kept walking. The fact that I didn't smudge my sand drawing seemed to reassure him.
Strangely enough, the bombs caused almost total destruction in the entire area, far more than was intended for demolition. This cleared the way for the city's cultural buildings, but the destruction also affected the routes of the roads, the subway, and the underground railway. But before I describe the design of the building in detail and answer your questions, I would like to add a comment: How did Adolf Hitler view the Roman Pantheon?
In the winter of 1939 to 1940, he often spoke in small circles about his "Roman impressions" from May 1938, saying something like this:
"A fortunate coincidence has preserved this temple space for Western culture—it was surely the harmony, solemnity, and beauty that saved the space from looting and destruction. Early Christianity otherwise had little respect for the 'pagan temples' of antiquity."
Ever since I experienced this room—no description, drawing, or photograph can do it justice—I have been interested in its history.
The Eastern Roman ruler Phocas, who also considered himself Roman Caesar, handed the temple over to the Pope. The Pope consecrated the room by transferring "martyrs' bones" from the catacombs and gave it the name "Sta. Maria dei Martiri." This broke the spell, and the gods of antiquity, who had inhabited the space as demons, were driven out. From then on, the martyrs' bones protected the magical space, but this did not prevent a later Eastern Roman ruler in the 7th century from shipping the gilded bronze tiles of the flat dome to Byzantium.
The bronze tiles were outside the consecrated space! Also outside were the bronze beams and coffers of the vestibule, the portico, from which Bernini's tabernacle for St. Peter's was then cast. This happened a thousand years later, in the 17th century, on the instructions of Pope Urban.
What a magnificent tomb the darling of the Renaissance, Raphael, has in this room! The simple stone coffin in a niche lacks only distance to prevent intrusiveness, and it is precisely this distance that guarantees its rank and dignity!
I stood alone in this room for a short while... what majesty! I

looked up at the large, open eye of light, saw the universe, and felt what gave this room its name: Pantheon—God and the world are one.
Six had listened attentively, he stopped and said thoughtfully: "For me – and certainly not only for me – this is a different Hitler! I can only repeat: you are obliged to record this! Continue your story!" Later, in the fall of 1940, when he introduced me to the task of redesigning Linz, Adolf Hitler spoke again about the Roman Pantheon.
He had instructed me to design a vaulted room in the "Tower on the Danube" as a burial place for his parents. He had talked about a carillon and a sequence of notes from a Bruckner symphony. After a pause, he then said:
"Imagine, Giesler... if Napoleon's sarcophagus were to stand under a large eye of light, like that of the Pantheon, exposed to the changing days and seasons... how great the thought would be when the wide-open circle stands above the sarcophagus, open to daylight and the night sky, open also to rain and snow and thus connected to the universe." From the planning of the building
The high-ceilinged halls, which I have already mentioned, led from the Brienner Strasse to the monolithic block of the tomb. They created the necessary
necessary distance and enclosed the building on the sides. Simple passageways, cut diagonally into the stone walls, led into the interior. On the south front of the building, seen from Brienner Strasse across the square, a strict five-axis portico supported by pillars led to the entrance between two niches where guards were to stand on special occasions.
The interior proportions corresponded to those of the Roman Pantheon and were intended to be very simple. With a diameter of 40 meters, it was deliberately smaller than the Pantheon.
Apart from the two unemphasized entrances on the east and west sides, the room had an emphasized portal on the south side and, on this axis to the north, a wide and high connection via the bridge gallery to the party hall.
To further structure the wall surfaces and emphasize the vertical lines, I had planned semicircular apses in the diagonals of the room—no further subdivision and no pomp, absolute simplicity, nothing should be mysterious or enigmatic.
A simple stepped cornice divided the height of the room exactly in the middle. Between this cornice and an architrave that closed off the wall surfaces was a metope-triglyph frieze*, whose strict order was reflected in the capitals.

set and ribs of the dome. The edges of the coffering, tapering upwards, not only traced the spherical course of the dome to the smooth pressure ring, they also created a physical compaction: The dome would neither weigh down nor float; it would be present to the eye, enclosing the space, and the contrast with the large opening, the eye of light in its center, would be all the more striking. And I planned this opening—deviating from the Pantheon model—to be a whole meter wider in diameter.

Why? interrupted F. A. Six.

I could make excuses about the different lighting conditions, but I just wanted to have more light coming in, and I hoped that this would make a noticeable difference to the impression the room made. But beyond that, I wanted the wide-open eye of light because the sarcophagus would be standing underneath it. That's how I planned Adolf Hitler's burial site. He had himself burned in the ruins of the Reich Chancellery, and it cannot be ruled out that what remains of him is now in Russia.

The "Party Hall"

Experiences, primal ideas, as it were, initially determined the plans for the Party Hall. Surely you also experienced a rally in front of the Feldherrnhalle at that time? It was particularly impressive in the evening hours, when the architectural walls surrounding the square on three sides were illuminated by spotlights: The Residenz, opposite the Theatiner Church, and in the middle the Feldherrnhalle with the bright colors of the flags and standards, which were arranged in tiers like a choir. The reflection of the light hit the uniformed columns, and above it all was the night-blue sky.

I thought that something of this impression should be felt in the hall I wanted to design. So much for the "feeling," as you mentioned. But the "thinking" was initially focused on the construction. In the hall for Weimar, I had already reinforced the load-bearing capacity of the prestressed reinforced concrete trusses over the walls with a row of pillars facing the room, based on tectonic considerations. This also shortened the free span of the trusses. The lower chord of the truss was given a slight, curved elevation to support the suspended ceiling, which was now possible thanks to the slight curvature.
appear flat, because without this curvature, a ceiling of this span would visually sag.
Given the now much larger span of the party hall, I decided on a spherical ceiling in the form of a flat elliptical curve. My aim was to create a structure that would allow the hall walls to stand independently and sculpturally, without burdening them with the pressure of the wide-span roof and ceiling structures.
You must know that architects see the vertical as the supporting force and the horizontal as the load-bearing force, to put it simply. The combination, the tectonics, reveals an exciting struggle between these forces: balancing, as in the Doric temple, or one-sided in the vertical structure of the Gothic spire, or even weighing down, with an overemphasis on the horizontal. Tectonics is not only determined by the building material, it is also subject to changing views over time and location – just compare the Doric temples of Paestum with the Parthenon!
The vault is both a load and a support in its spherical course. I therefore started with a steel or reinforced concrete skeleton. The construction allowed for a flat barrel vault. In a spherical elliptical curve, the trusses could be led directly into the foundations without placing any load on the walls, which also absorbed the lateral thrust. This corresponded to the hall with a span of 100 meters. This allowed the exterior façade and the interior walls of the hall to be designed freely.
Even the first rough sketch I drew reminded me of the structure of the Basilica of Vicenza, a building that was already mentioned in documents as the "Palatium Vetus" in the 12th century. The Renaissance architect Scamozzi even traces the origins of this building back to Theodoric, but there is no evidence to support this. The walls of the old, two-story, high hall support a free-span barrel vault measuring almost 25 x 60 meters.
During the Italian High Renaissance, Palladio surrounded this hall with a two-story arcade 20 meters high and about 7 meters deep in the architectural style named after him.

With this arcade conversion in the Renaissance column arrangement, the old Gothic hall became a unified whole and a concept: the famous Basilica of Vicenza. This building provided me with further inspiration: I recognized how the planned large hall for the party could be structured to scale. This resulted in dimensions for the hall that corresponded to the scale constants of Klenze's buildings. I now planned the two-story arcades inside the hall as well, but in a form completely different from the outer galleries. The ground floor gallery provided sufficient entrances and exits for the hall level on both long sides. The upper gallery accessed the three-sided grandstand of the hall, under which there were utility rooms on the ground floor and the exits to the substructures with the cloakrooms and the ducts for heating and power supply.

The masonry panels were a special feature. They connected the outer and inner galleries with sloping reveals, between which were the necessary portals on the ground floor and the row of windows on the upper floor. In addition, in the longitudinal direction, there were arcade passages with round arches. These masonry panels, which also determined the axis dimensions, enclosed a cavity for the spherical elliptical course of the truss construction, whether made of steel or reinforced concrete.

Rising directly from the foundations and without placing any load on the walls, these arches were connected to the horizontal frames and purlins to form a static skeleton for the roof and the interior ceiling. I wanted to illuminate the ceiling vault, which thus disappeared without supports behind the arcade architecture, indirectly from a light well above the wall panels. Architect Ivar Tengbom had used this method had designed the ceiling of the Stockholm Concert Hall to reflect the light. The ceiling structure was to be formed by stepped coffers in the ribbed network of the vault, flatter in the recesses and closer to the apex.

Seen from the hall choir, the windows were hidden behind the plastic arcade architecture, with only the incoming light intended to have an effect. Accordingly, indirect lighting was also planned here for the evening. In contrast to the tomb, I hoped to achieve a certain unreality in the space. I would like to exaggerate as a possible enchantment. There are many examples of what lighting alone can achieve in a sculpturally designed room.

The material for the wall surfaces with the panes and the arcade architecture was to be Untersberg marble. This marble is characterized by its fineness and a warm, light golden tone. I also discussed the color of the vaulted ceiling with a painter. How could the room be given a nocturnal

Was there any solemnity conveyed by the dark sky above the open space near the Feldherrnhalle? We couldn't come to a conclusion at the time.
The choir itself was staggered from the hall level so that the height of the stands could also be incorporated. The arcaded walkways ended in an apse, where a high arch was to connect the bridge gallery to the burial site.
From this brief description, you can see how diverse this task was, how much it required "thinking and feeling," and why it completely captivated me.
That was very enlightening for me, confirmed F. A. Six. Were you able to present your plans to Hitler, and did he comment on them?
Yes, that happened in connection with the introduction to the "New Design for Linz" project in late fall 1940. After he had chosen the burial place for his parents in the "Tower on the Danube," he spoke about his thoughts on his own burial place. His idea that Napoleon's sarcophagus could stand under the open skylight of a room on a par with the Roman Pantheon instead of under the lantern light of the Invalides seemed to me like a preamble to this.
He then explained the connection between his grave and the party hall, speaking of the unifying bridge and access.
from Briennerstraße and the necessary screening and distance through the courtyard. "Of course," he said, "that would require the demolition of the Wittelsbach Palace... it's not yet time to talk about that. But think about the interlocking sequence of rooms."
I rummaged in my folder for my sketchpad and a photograph of the small plasticine model and presented both to him. Adolf Hitler was surprised.

The next time I was walking around the prison courtyard with F. A. Six, he said, "You still have to tell me what Hitler said when he saw your sketches."
He didn't say anything! He was surprised, how can I describe it? He looked at everything closely, I stood in front of him, but I didn't need to explain anything. After a while, he looked at me, stood up, and briefly placed his hand on my shoulder. Then he went to the large window and looked out. A little later, his military meetings began, and I went to my room and made notes about the Linz assignment.
"Please," said F. A. Six, "draw me the floor plan and the facade of this building! I want to have a visual representation of what you've told me. Anyway, where are your sketches, plans, and models? Are they all safe? They are important historical documents that will supplement your future reports."
The plans and models that were in Sonthofen have probably been destroyed, burned. The magnificent wooden models that were awarded the gold medal at the 1937 World's Fair in Paris were smashed with axes and rifle butts. On the other hand, the model of Munich's east-west axis with the new main station is now in the possession of the city of Munich. I gathered this from the rude and stupidly arrogant chatter of the city director, who is well versed in law and whom I have already mentioned. He is, as you just said, "vividly before my eyes," because one rarely encounters such a dimwit! And someone like that acts as "trustee" for the former "office of the Munich Chief Building Officer"! He had confiscated everything, including what had been outsourced, among it the model of the east-west axis.
But he also confiscated my personal property, including books, pictures, and furniture!
Last year, in late fall 1947, he showed up with his secretary and CIC escort to interrogate me here in prison. He probably thought I might still have something hidden somewhere that was worth the personal involvement of a city director with legal expertise. There was nothing left to get from my wife, who was living with our youngest child in the attic of the poorhouse in Thalkirchdorf, happy that our eldest had reported back from captivity as a prisoner of war.
Now to the interrogation—he called it "questioning." A guard was present, along with a prison officer, and later the provost marshal joined them. The man from the CIC in uniform began: "Stand at ease—straighten up!" Where would you classify him? Six just laughed.
I couldn't comply with the CIC order because I was already standing there like Michelangelo's David—only I didn't have a slingshot, but, in keeping with the times, one hand in my pants pocket. The legal expert then made it clear to me—I remember his words verbatim: "You no longer have any property and will never have any again—that will be taken care of!"

ever have any property again—that will be taken care of!" Of course, something like that makes a tremendous impression on a prisoner serving a life sentence—ha ha! The legal expert then tried using an interrogatory tone, because he had no idea what I had already been through. Then came the "idiot" comment. The city director insulted me with a scornful expression because I had planned an underground railway for Munich. I didn't answer anymore; he could ask whatever he wanted. The "Riihränn-se" from the CIC also got involved. Because I continued to remain silent, both of them started shouting loudly.

I then turned to our provost marshal and declared, 'I will only answer questions from the prison administration'. With that, I had
placed myself in his domain, and he reacted immediately. He said "stop," the "interrogation" was over, and he signaled to the guard to take the interrogators to the prison gate. The prison officer led me back to the cell block, muttering as we left: "Son of a bitch" — I knew
who he meant!

I must have had a patron in the prison administration, because after a while after I returned to my cell from my daily work, I found a copy of a letter under my bedspread that the very honorable city director of law from City Hall Room 272/11 had sent to the prison administration, dated October 17, 1947. In it, the legal expert demanded
, among other things, that the prison administration arrange for both my correspondence and personal conversations with visitors to be monitored for the time being. The idiot probably thinks we have some kind of sanatorium here with daily visitors.

I have to say, the new authorities in Munich are thanking us in their own way for the fact that my dead brother and I fought so hard against Kesselring to save Munich's bridges.

You must tell me all about it in detail, said F. A. Six. But back to the city director, "with the copy of his letter to the prison administration, you now know his name too?

"I already knew the man in his capacity as 'trustee' of the General Building Authority. For me, this letter is a document of villainy with a file number. But what good is that to me with my life sentence?

"Just wait and see," said F. A. Six, "the Americans won't uphold the sentence. How could they make you a war criminal, and how did they come up with this 'life sentence'? But first, how did you fare in that infamous Bunker I in Dachau after I was transported to the Nuremberg prison? I'm interested in that too."

In the depths

Bunker I in Dachau 1946/47

Franz Alfred Six and I were, albeit separated, inmates in Bunker I in Dachau in the summer of 1946. The food server and bucket maker Stork, a Viennese man suspected of war crimes because he had served the Nazi People's Welfare Organization, passed on greetings and words of encouragement to us along with the chicken feed. It began like this:

There's a new guy in the A wing, Stork had told Six, Giesler, the general manager from Munich. Six replied: Is he tough or soft?

A little later, I received my food in a tin bowl: diced beetroot with sweet potatoes, a few corn kernels floating in the blood-colored broth. Stork hummed between his teeth without moving his lips: "Greetings from Professor Six, he's lying in the bunker barracks." I replied: "Is he standing or is he wobbling?"

Then the ladle master started laughing: "That's exactly what the guy over there asked me." And to the rascals who were attentively watching the food being distributed: "He wants more corn kernels, hahaha." An American sergeant who moved closer was also reassured. "He wants more com, hahaha."

From then on, we stayed in touch during meal times. Gradually, I learned about the terrible conditions Franz Alfred Six was living in in the bunker barracks, which were occupied by 300 prisoners. The Americans had crammed two dozen men into his room, which was barely big enough for six. He suffered from a lack of air and the almost unbearable summer heat under the cardboard roof; the windows were boarded up. Added to this were the appalling hygienic conditions.

But that was the norm, because when did we ever breathe fresh air? Only a criminal parade in the walled bunker courtyard was reason enough to drive us out of our cells and the bunker barracks. We staggered into the fresh air, having forgotten how to walk.

During one such event, I saw my friend and we waved to each other. Then we stood in rows behind each other, like recruits on their first day, ready for the infamous "stage show" selection in the courtyard of the bunker.

There they were. Surrounded by CIC investigators and guards, former criminal concentration camp inmates inspected us. Their demeanor suggested they were heavyweights.

I forced myself to look into the faces that were scrutinizing me and was amazed

astonished at how much malicious, cynical malice they had stored on their repulsive faces and their bloated chins. When the gangsters had passed me, I looked at them sideways and felt the gruesome contrast: these criminals, of all people, were looking for new victims for the Dachau court system.

Whether the selection was successful, I do not know, because with "let's go" and "mak snell," the first row of prisoners, in which I was standing, was driven back into the tents. With encouraging shouts from the CIC men, the inspection of the next row began.

A few days later, the steward Stork conveyed Franz Alfred Six's farewell message to me. His path led him to the Nuremberg prison and, via one of the Nuremberg trials, to the War Crimes Prison in Landsberg, where I had already been imprisoned for six months.

In our conversations in Landsberg, I was soon able to fulfill my friend's wish and tell him about my life and experiences in the notorious Bunker I, right up to the macabre trial I underwent before a military tribunal in Dachau.

No adversity was inflicted on me directly, and yet the days and nights, the weeks and months in this building became—despite frequent grotesque bright spots—oppressive and torturous. There were three of us locked in a cell, and we found camaraderie: a Munich artist who had served as an auxiliary gendarme during the last years of the war, a criminal investigator, a lawyer, a cultured Viennese.

cell and became friends: a painter from Munich who had served as an auxiliary policeman during the last years of the war, and a criminal investigator, a lawyer, a cultured Viennese. He was a fascinating storyteller and a talented sketcher of the bizarre events in the bunker.

In this community, many things were easier to bear: the harassment, the screams of the prisoners, the hysterical shrieks of the WAC women, to whom we were presented like wild animals in a zoo as mass murderers and Nazi criminals, the daily monotony of beetroot, sweet potato, or wallpaper paste for food, and the nightly roars of the guards.

These were by no means American soldiers—they were mostly lying in the guardroom at the entrance to the bunker, their feet up on the tables, tired from their escapades. If they showed any zeal for their duty at all, it was in front of the cells where women were locked up. No, our guards were gypsies, Poles, and concentration camp inmates, and they were under the command of the "bunker boss," a former security guard with a green triangle from the Dachau concentration camp, a brutal, stocky man whom the Americans confidentially called "Hans." In the background of the bunker stood the Viennese-born

CIC Lieutenant Guth, who also called himself Brown, Paul, and Paulus, although Saul would have been more fitting.

The bunker boss didn't do me any harm personally, but even today his shouting still haunts me in the night: "Albärt – Albärt 39

- Allbärt," with which he drove his cell dog or filthy monkey. Albert, a rather good-natured concentration camp inmate, came from Munich's Glass Shard Quarter and was the boss's orderly. When the yelling started, we knew that another suicide attempt was underway in the cells or had already been successfully carried out. I don't know of a single night that ever passed quietly.
In the winter months of 1946/47, a constant back and forth began. These were the times of "extraditions" according to the "disposition" for French mines, for prisoner transports to Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. They were gathered in the hallway of the bunker.
The poor men stood naked in the cold corridors until they were searched, dressed, and bound. "Comrades, do you have a piece of broken glass for me?" I heard through the observation and feeding hatch. But even the scalps of the bound men were searched for pieces of razor blades. Horrific scenes unfolded.
Then the convicts from the Dachau trials came out of the court bunker to spend the night here before being transported to Landsberg, where they would be executed or spend the rest of their lives in hopeless hard labor. Horror and a Kubin-esque ghost world dominated the bunker and permeated every pore.
I often looked up at the wall above the cell door. Partly with a pencil, then only with a pencil stub, the magical spell was scratched there:
"The gods, the infinite ones, give everything
to their beloved ones,
All joys, the infinite ones,
All pain, infinite, completely*."
I soon discovered this and recognized the handwriting. It had been written by Karl Brandt, the surgeon, the friend who had been sentenced to death in Nuremberg. He confirmed in Landsberg that I had not been mistaken.
Of the many strange occurrences in Bunker I, I want to report on two.
report on two. There was a guy whose appearance differed from that of the half-starved prisoners. This Urian moved freely in the corridors and was therefore a trustee in the service of the Americans. Although tall, he seemed more colossal because he was fat and obese. I estimated him to weigh two and a half hundred pounds. The back of his head ran straight down to his neck.
He had black bristly hair that reached almost to his forehead, resembling an old shoe brush, gray around his fleshy ears, from which the hair sprouted like dust bunnies. A trapezoidal face with the jaws and drooping cheeks of a boar, beneath which was a double chin. Restless eyes, malicious and piercing, with a thicket of bushy eyebrows above them.

Who is this Alp? - That is the psychologist Professor Dr. Katzenellenbogen. He describes himself as a student of Freud, and he must also have lectured at Harvard University, hence the title "professor." He
is Jewish, and during the war he was a double agent in Paris. One side found out, and he was sent to the Buchenwald concentration camp. There he became a kapo in the hospital. Liberated by the Americans, he is said to have become rector of the University of Jena—at least that's what he said.
Almighty God, I thought, he must have ripped people off magnificently, fitting in well with the monumental frescoes by the painter Hodler: 'Symbol of the Nation's Awakening' on the walls of the auditorium, and underneath them this cat's elbow. Why is he here now?
It's a bit unclear. The French resistance demanded his extradition, and they've probably realized that in the meantime. In the turmoil of liberation, he was forgotten at first. Now they've probably remembered him in Paris and want to put him on trial. The military government has taken him—and me—into protective custody.
The person who gave me this information was Professor Dr. Pirkmajer, a Yugoslav lawyer who used to work at the University of Belgrade. He had been a kind of district president in the administrative service. As an active nationalist in the Mihailovic resistance movement, he was arrested by the German occupation security service and sent to the Dachau concentration camp. There he became the chief camp clerk. The Americans liberated him at the end of April 1945. He became rector of the "UNRRA University," which was founded under American auspices in the German Museum in Munich.
But then Tito demanded the extradition of Mihailovic supporter Pirkmajer – and he knew what that meant. The Americans knew it too by then, so they took Pirkmajer into protective custody and, to be on the safe side, put him in the strictly guarded Bunker I as a trustee. And once again, he was the chief clerk in that area. He also took down my personal details. Pirkmajer was interested in me – no wonder, because I was known as "the man who knew Hitler." He often had himself locked in our cell for a few hours because he wanted to hear as much as possible about Hitler. This led to revealing conversations, because I wanted to know just as much about him, about the areas he had been through, especially about
the Dachau concentration camp, about which he must have had detailed knowledge as a camp clerk. I answered all his questions and was able to tell him, the much-disappointed
but always honest man, about the nature of Adolf Hitler and his German and European goals. Pirkmajer listened attentively and often with amazement: "This is a different Hitler that you are revealing to me. I now understand how he came to be so fascinating and successful, and that almost the entire world had to be mobilized to bring him down."

Then he spoke about himself. Despite his German name, he felt himself to be a Yugoslav, a member of the resistance and a freedom fighter committed to his country and its original government, even though his resistance had now cost him his homeland. He spoke about the Dachau concentration camp, matter-of-factly, with all the figures he knew and without any discernible emotion, as befitted the nature of this man of integrity.

I had previously told Pirkmajer what I knew about the Dachau concentration camp, which I now got to know from the inside as a prisoner. In 1939, while working on urban planning for Munich and the surrounding areas, I was told that the Dachau concentration camp had a total population of about 8,000 prisoners. I later learned that during the war years, the number initially doubled and then increased to about 30,000 toward the end of the war. Even when flying over the area and evaluating aerial photographs for urban planning and traffic planning purposes, it was possible to determine that the accommodations and overall extent of the camp corresponded to the reported occupancy figures. That is why I later always opposed the fantasy figures and the many false reports that were given to me in prisons and camps and also during interrogations. There was talk of hundreds of thousands, even millions of concentration camp inmates here in Dachau, and it was even written in the newspapers.

Of course these figures were nonsense, Pirkmajer explained. One had to start with the subdivisions and the number blocks; the political prisoners, the criminals, the anti-social elements, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, the Jews—each category had its own number block. And each individual number was linked to a prisoner and was only issued once, even if the number became "free" due to transfer, death, or release.

The number block alone revealed which category the prisoner belonged to. The inmates of the labor and satellite camps were also included in this numbering system; they were all listed in the books of the Dachau main camp. The last numbers issued were between 161,000 and 162,000. But that does not mean that there were ever 162,000 prisoners in Dachau, because the numbers that were not issued for the individual blocks had to be deducted from this figure.

"And how many people died in Dachau concentration camp in total?" Pirkmajer was unable to give a definitive answer to this question, as the strict order had broken down in February 1945 due to the influx of people from the camps that had been dissolved and the work commandos. In April, the last month of the war, conditions were chaotic in some places. Despite vaccinations, typhus and typhus fever spread, leading to mass illness and epidemics. This was the period with the highest death rate.

According to the camp records of the central registry, which had been carefully maintained until then, there were approximately 21,000
, including about 7,500 German-speaking prisoners. These figures could be considered reliable. However, he feared that this was not the final number and that it was likely that there had ultimately been 25,000 deaths in Dachau. Even after liberation, he believed that there were still many deaths, not only from disease, but also from terrible events, including mass executions, which could only be explained by the bitterness of the situation. Pirkmajer concluded his report on the Dachau concentration camp with these words, referring to the highly regrettable number of victims
and human suffering, Pirkmajer concluded his report on the Dachau concentration camp.

I agreed with Pirkmajer and said, "We all bear suffering, and we bear the heavy burden of our entire fate, regardless of how responsible we feel. But precisely because we are horrified by the tragedy and the large number of victims, we—my comrades and I—are outraged by any manipulation of the numbers of victims that is now being carried out. As if it weren't enough already – no – here in Dachau? Someone is abusing the authority that has been handed down to him through centuries of tradition as a transmitter and interpreter of the divine and of truth out of a sense of ethical obligation. Pirkmajer looked at me questioningly.

I mean, I continued, the miracle of Niemöller. This pastor, who claims to follow only his conscience, manages to announce the extermination of over 230,000 Jews in this camp from a total of approximately 160,000 Dachau prisoner numbers. Niemöller, who was a prisoner with special privileges here in these bunker cells, could have accurately determined the truth about the total number of prisoners in the Dachau camp
and the number of victims after his liberation, as he had access to all information. Instead, he proclaims gross untruths to the outside world.

He not only abused the credulity of his listeners... the terrible number of victims was not enough for him; he multiplied it tenfold, turning it into a farce. I find that dishonesty and hypocrisy are ill-suited to the character of a pastor." Pirkmajer did not respond, but opened his hands in a gesture.

The trial

A casual grotesque incident provided the special occasion to talk about the macabre trial that a military court of the American army had conducted against me in the former Dachau concentration camp*.

What I am about to tell you concerns me and my situation here. I said this to my friend Franz Alfred Six.
Unrecht Sepp speaks first. Seeing his astonished look, I quickly explain the situation and introduce myself:
At the start of the day, in the disgusting bucket and washroom, a "new" guy
"You're Professor Giesler, and I'm Sepp Unrecht—and because of you, I'm sitting here now—with a life sentence!"
'Why? I don't know you.' 'But it has something to do with you, we'll have to talk.'
Soon an opportunity arose.
Sepp Unrecht had been a Kapo in the Dachau concentration camp. Liberated by the Americans at the end of April 1945, he was then denounced by fellow prisoners—he said because of a slap in the face—and was arrested again by the Americans and thrown into the Kapo barracks. Now he was languishing there, unsure whether he would be put on trial or, because he was intelligent—which Unrecht emphasized emphatically—prepared and used as a witness for the prosecution.
Presumably on the suggestion of the notorious former public prosecutor Dr. Leiss*, now a lackey in the service of the Americans, for whom he did all the dirty work, the prosecution saw Sepp Unrecht as a useful witness against me.
They explained to him what he had to say under oath and promised him his freedom in return. These practices were openly employed by the American prosecutors, who were not in the least embarrassed by them. But the wrongfully accused Sepp had said, "I don't know Giesler—I've never seen him before." Well, that could be remedied, as there was a photograph of him—and in the courtroom he had the number 7 hanging around his neck.
"That's easy to remember, and here, you can memorize this, these are our questions and your answers." But Unrecht Sepp had thought it over in the meantime; it seemed too dangerous to him, or too much of a dirty trick, as he put it, and he said, "I'm not going along with that—I'm not doing it."
The guards led him away, and the lead prosecutor in my trial, Captain Morton Roth, called after him: "You'll regret this!"
There was a big argument in the Kapo barracks, and Kapo Lang from Nuremberg said to him: "Sepp, you're stupid, but that's fine with me, I'll report in for you. It'll be fun to finish off the Nazi!' That's what Unrecht Sepp told me, and then he added: 'And afterwards they praised Lang and gave him his freedom, even though he was a criminal and I was a political prisoner.
Out of revenge, he said, the Americans sentenced him to life in the last Dachau trial. "And now I'm sitting here because of you!"
I tried to explain to Sepp that, as far as the course of

of my trial and the verdict, it was completely irrelevant to me who had committed perjury with those stupid accusations—whether it was Unrecht or Lang. So now I could only tell him that I thought he was a decent guy. Would that mean anything to him? "What can I do with that?" he said resignedly.
But those were primitive and crude methods in Dachau, F.A. Six wondered, in the Nuremberg trials they were more sophisticated. I would advise you to make a note of this and have it signed by Unrecht—perhaps the time will come when it will be appreciated. But now I am interested in the whole story, please tell me.
"This was preceded in January 1947 by interrogations with stupid questions, ridiculous insinuations, and derisive remarks by the CIC interrogators, all of them emigrants who were still wet behind the ears when it came to the American way of life—perfumed pompous windbags with their feet up on their desks.
"I know these guys," said Six, "but go on."
One day, the time had come. I was led into a room with a sign on the door that read: "Prosecution." Two officers were sitting there, both from the same branch, a major and a captain, who was Morton Roth, whom Un-recht has just told us about. The major's name was Bachman, "Bächmän," he insisted. The guards remained in the room; you never knew! Then I noticed a lieutenant in French uniform listening in. The questioning began again: Paris, Rome, Berghof, headquarters, Russia, Reich Chancellery, and Paris again. When had I been there? For the World Exhibition in 1937. "And what did you do there?" To receive the Grand Prix with a gold medal. "And what else?" Sightseeing in the city and visiting the museums. "You must have had a good time. How long were you there?" Two days. "And when were you back in Paris?" In 1940, with Adolf Hitler. "Aha! And when again?" Not since then. "You're lying! You're lying!" I said nothing. "You're lying, and we'll prove that you're lying!" Prove it. "He's getting cheeky," said the captain, who usually did the talking. "Yes, he's getting cheeky," agreed the major, "and he's arrogant. He hasn't had enough. He comes here and is
'We'll finish him off,' the captain reassured him.
The hours passed with such nonsense. "Take him away, come on." This was repeated several times, while they poked around in all aspects of my life. They were particularly interested in my stays in Paris and Rome, a topic that came up in every interrogation. And yet I had the impression that they just wanted to confuse me. Finally, they let the cat out of the bag: "How often have you been to Mühldorf, and when was the last time?" Now I knew what it was all about, and I said:
"Mühl-dorf" refers to two things: the town and the large construction site of the OT headquarters. I've been to the town once, after a bombing raid,

but I've never been to the large construction site; that was none of my business."
"But we will prove that you were responsible for this large construction site."
"That won't be possible."
Then the captain turned to the major: "Shall we tell him?"
"Why not?" The captain: "Well, go ahead. We have investigated you thoroughly, we know that you have not harmed anyone, nor have you given any orders that would have led to harm. But we need a main culprit for the Mühldorf trial, and we're going to make you one! Take him away, come on!" As I left, I glanced at the French officer, who looked confused.
Now explain to me what this Mühldorf trial is all about
, what was this large construction site you were talking about, what was the cause and purpose of the trial, F.A. Six interjected, you said earlier that the construction site was none of your business.
I must begin with May 1944, when I was first involved with the large construction site near Mühldorf. Reich Governor Ritter von Epp, who was responsible for regional planning in Bavaria, and my brother, who was Gauleiter and defense commissioner, had received belated notification of the plans and the start of construction of large buildings near Kaufering and Mühldorf am Inn. They had no way of directly expressing their concerns to the Führer about the renewed concentration of armaments factories in the Munich and Mühldorf areas. Since I had access to Adolf Hitler at any time, I was asked to convey all their concerns.
At about the same time, my staff reported to me that two large construction sites were being set up there, which were directly subordinate to the OT-Zen-Zentrale in Berlin. I found the whole thing strange and inquired about the plans and scale of these construction projects. They were large bunkers for armaments, multi-story
I found the whole thing strange and inquired about the plans and scale of these construction projects. They were large bunkers for armaments, multi-story factory areas under a huge protective vault for the production of "war-critical weapons" such as jet fighters and V-weapons. For each of these structures, around 24,000 armaments workers were to work in three shifts, for whom accommodation, supply and air-raid shelters also had to be built. The disposition came from the Central Planning Office and the so-called Jägerstab, while planning and implementation were the responsibility of the OT headquarters, where the simple and ingenious construction principle of these buildings had been worked out by Dorsch and Professor Casagrande.
I drove to the Berghof with my plans for Linz and found an opportunity to talk to Adolf Hitler about these construction projects: "We know that these armament structures are important, if not decisive for the war. But the locations Kaufering/Landsberg and Mühldorf am Inn are extremely unfavorable." I gave him our reasons.
Adolf Hitler was serious and thoughtful; he wanted to know what kind of time commitment would be required if a new location were to be chosen. I thought about the construction site setup and preparatory work I had seen during the construction

I thought of the construction site and the preparatory work I had seen during the construction project in Kaufering, of the gravel and concrete processing plants with the huge pumping station, and said: At least four weeks! "So a month—that's impossible, too much time has already been wasted. I acknowledge your concerns, but in our situation they are secondary – that is why these buildings must be continued with all intensity at the specified locations. I have been given binding assurances that the dates for use for armament by Dorsch are set until November. Dorsch, and beyond that Speer, are responsible to me for this."
I doubted that this deadline could be met unless all construction capacity in the area of Bavaria and the Danube region entrusted to me as GBBau was concentrated on these construction sites. Adolf Hitler then ordered that the labor and material supplies for these two major construction sites be allocated separately by the Reich. Then he turned to me:
"Giesler, this is an order: Dorsch and Speer are responsible for these buildings. You will no longer be involved in this matter; stick to your duties! Bormann, inform Gauleiter Giesler of my decision!"
So I was no longer to report to my brother either. I felt a slight rebuke for having interfered in a matter in which a
The decision had already been made. I then strictly adhered to Adolf Hitler's instructions and informed my employees in the OT sector accordingly.
These bomb-proof large buildings, each with approximately 100,000 square meters of factory space, were not completed, and the construction period guaranteed by Dorsch had expired. In December 1944, Senior Building Officer Endrös from OT headquarters asked me to order the closure of the construction sites in Mühldorf and Landsberg. This was repeated in January and February 1945, and the chief physician of the OT headquarters, Dr. Poschmann, also agreed to this request in conversation. At that time, I was in Adolf Hitler's command bunker in Berlin.
It was clear to me who and what was behind this. "What is this?" was my response. "I neither proposed nor planned these large-scale construction projects, nor were they under my authority. The only people responsible for them are Dorsch and Speer, as you know very well, and ultimately only the Führer can make a decision about halting construction."
I discussed this with Bormann. "That's typical. They want to misuse you and push you forward to get themselves out of the mess they've got into with the deadlines for the large bunker constructions." Well, later, during the trial, "they" succeeded!
Immediately after the surrender, the American army, parallel to

Nuremberg and spurred on by propaganda successes, ordered a series of war crimes trials in Dachau, including a show trial against the Organisation Todt, the OT. In the opinion of the Americans, the OT's large construction site in Mühldorf offered the opportunity to do this, because here it was possible to construct a collaboration between the OT and the SS: planning and implementation were under the control of the OT headquarters in Berlin, the OT-
Leaders and sub-leaders were assigned there. The work was carried out by the construction company Polensky und Zöllner, which had been contracted for this purpose. In addition, there were unwelcome laborers from the Dachau concentration camp, including around
4,000 Hungarian Jews, with their SS guards. There were also Russian prisoners of war. The unskilled workers from the concentration camp were under the administrative and supply control of the SS. They were housed separately, taken to the construction site, and picked up again there.
So there were different groups involved in the trial: the OT, the accused members of the construction company, and the guards. They chose me as the main culprit. Without a doubt, I seemed particularly suitable as the former head of the OT task force in Bavaria, in whose territory this large construction site was located, albeit as an independent enclave that was none of my business and with which I wanted nothing to do, but that didn't matter. Then I was the former chief building officer of Munich, the brother of the Gauleiter and former Prime Minister of Bavaria, and, as I was told
, Hitler's architect and friend.
At the beginning of the trial, I was told that I was facing a death sentence and was therefore entitled to choose my own defense attorney. There was a group of German defense attorneys, among whom was an old fool who had been helpful and useless in the Dachau trials, where he had been paid with C rations and Camels.
Since I couldn't afford a German lawyer either, I was left with the court-appointed defense attorney Mr. Welch, a lawyer in American uniform.
The defense attorney for the Polensky and Zöllner construction company was Dr. Leiling acted as defense attorney for the construction company Polensky and Zöllner. He was not only assigned to me as an OT leader out of corporate interest. I soon learned the reason. He was formerly a lieutenant in that Munich interpreter company and had been a leader in the attempted coup against my brother in the last days of April. Only adverse circumstances had prevented him from going down in history as a great and successful resistance fighter, at least in the Free State of Bavaria.
Now Leiling was trying to turn the court-appointed defense attorney against me. No wonder Mr. Welch was initially brusque and reserved. But as the trial progressed, I became at least an interesting figure for him, and the more he dealt with the matter, the more he stood up for me within the limits of his authority.
Weeks passed during the trial before I was accused for the first time.

A Hungarian rascal named Rubinstein recognized me as an extremely dangerous SS wax soldier who had always beaten them terribly with the butt of his rifle. That was probably not to be taken seriously.
The zeal with which incredible acts of sacrilege were testified to remained astonishing—all under oath, of course. But what was surprising was what people dared to offer the judges from God's own country. Their reaction to the unbelievable and improbable accusations was to stare coldly at us, the defendants.
When we were driven back under heavy guard to the nearby Court Bunker II, brief conversations were possible. "I had
had no idea what was going on and what I was capable of," I heard the foreman of the construction company say. The Hungarian Jews had accused him of beating people with a measuring stick and killing them with a hammer. According to the statements, the foreman always knew how to help himself; Anyone who didn't work hard under his command was sprayed with water in the freezing cold and then encased in concrete while still frozen – and that was that! And the foreman Sperling, a good-natured soul, was also gone, stunned. He was then sentenced to death by hanging, but he is still on death row, waiting from Friday to Friday for the sentence to be carried out*.
A similar fate befell an SS squad leader of the camp guard unit, Franz Auer. For hours he was subjected to tirades of hatred and accusations in the courtroom. I saw Franz Auer as an irreproachable soldier who, after being wounded, served in the Mühldorf camp until his next deployment to the front.
In the evening in the common area, he said, "The judges believed everything that was said against me... I could see it in their eyes." I looked into his calm, open face and said, "But I believe in you, Franz Auer, you would never be capable of doing even the slightest thing that you are accused of." He thanked me with a handshake. A few weeks ago, he was executed, walking bravely and upright on his last journey.
Now I come to the climax of the trial, the macabre spectacle against the OT doctor Dr. Flocken. The court-appointed defense attorney Mr. Welch...
First, an experiment was conducted, unfortunately without the participation of the court. The defense attorney's secretary was replaced in the dock by the OT doctor. The Hungarian-Jewish witnesses for the prosecution entered the courtroom and immediately recognized the young, petite, good-natured, and always helpful secretary as the hated OT doctor. They attacked and verbally abused her so badly that the poor woman turned pale. This served Mr. Welch's purpose, but not that of the court.
And later, before this court, the real OT doctor, Dr. Flocken, was attacked. I would not have thought such an outburst of hatred, exuberant, brutal, and

mean, as it was staged, possible. The prosecution, the captain, and the major had apparently made a special effort to influence the witnesses for the prosecution and had driven them to make unbelievable statements. When the storm of accusations had subsided, the two of them began their activity. They made arbitrary connections between the OT, the Jewish laborers assigned to it, the SS, and the Dachau concentration camp. Under these circumstances, they believed they could tie the noose around the necks of the OT doctor,
the OT construction management, the SS camp guards, and, of course, me as the main culprit. And they believed they could achieve a conviction of the OT as a "criminal organization."
Incidentally, those responsible for the camp administration in Mühldorf and at the Dachau concentration camp had already been convicted in the first trials and executed in Landsberg.
What the prosecutors now presented had been triggered by an incident on the construction site: At that time, the site management had realized that the construction deadlines were not being met and that the daily work targets were far from being achieved. Although the quota of around 4,000 concentration camp prisoners as unskilled laborers had been imposed "from above," their performance did not meet the requirements of the construction site; too many of them were not fully fit for work or were unable to work. The doctor working for the OT in the construction site area arranged for them to be replaced. Those who were unfit for work were sent back to
their home camp, the Dachau concentration camp. This gave the prosecution an opportunity for a skit.
To impress the court, the prosecutors acted out a scene: with the facial expressions of slapstick comedians, they stood in front of the courtroom barriers and, with sweeping, expansive gestures, like
Morisco dancers, they pointed to the prisoners who had once stood there: "Go to the right, to work—go to the left, to death."
The gruesome portrayal became burlesque due to their exaggeration—but the OT doctor was sentenced to "death by hanging." However, I do not believe that she will be hanged, otherwise it would have happened at the same time as Franz Auer's execution. The doctor will be dragged back and forth for a few more years before she is granted the mercy of a long prison sentence.
What do you think? Six said dryly: Everything you're saying is interesting and informative, but don't keep digressing. Your ruby stone hardly brought you here.
Well, then I'll take a break. Tell me about your case. I'm sure you'll be more focused.
I'd like to do that. But my case is complicated and still unclear to this day.
still unclear. Because of me and my work, my clan, my friends, and former colleagues have attracted the special interest of the CIC and the English Secret Service, which has caused us a lot of grief. My family

was surrounded by traitors from my own camp, now in the service of the CIC, along with crooks and thugs. I've learned the name of one of them: Hirschfeld! My sister lost her life under mysterious circumstances in her efforts to help me, to stand by me, to protect me.
When the CIC arrested me with the help of these traitors, they rendered me "harmless" with handcuffs and shackles—as a further "security measure,"
They put me in a sack, tied it shut, and transported me that way. I was taken to the CIC headquarters in Heidelberg, Oberursel, Dachau – where we saw each other – and then to Nuremberg. There I met Mr. Kempner, and Judge Musmano sentenced me. I will tell you about my experiences in the various American interrogation centers later; we have plenty of time.
The bell rang, signaling us to return to our cells. Hundreds of heavy doors slammed into their stone frames. The usual night's rest began. The following Sunday, during exercise in the prison yard, I continued my account of the trial:
As defendant No. 7, along with 13 others, I had followed the trial closely for weeks, as far as my nerves would allow. For the nights between the court hearings were spent under scandalous conditions. The court bunker, where we were kept like rabbits—called Bunker II—was an abomination. No farmer would have subjected his pigs to these cell bays.
There was only a slit for a window, not enough to let any air in. The cell was cramped, with a low ceiling and a cement floor. There were two wooden bunks, one above the other. All night long, a strong spotlight was directed at our faces. The glaring light could be felt even with our eyes closed. If we put a handkerchief over our eyes, the Polish guard would bang on the wall with his baton and shout, "You Nazi? Take that cloth away,
I want to see your face and hands!"
The constantly creaking steam pipes, which ran right past our heads, made it impossible to sleep. The bay became so overheated that we panted for air like hunting dogs. Added to this was the commotion of the guards, who made noise all night long. With their tin helmets, the adornment of their corroded heads, or empty tin cans, they played soccer in the narrow corridor. The helmets clattered along the bunks on both sides and banged against the doors. Indian war cries announced each goal. The changing of the guard ensured that the sentries did not overexert themselves.
Matt and still dazzled, we finally found some peace in the courtroom. But it was difficult to follow the proceedings. Many of the defendants fell asleep, which the spectators acknowledged with a shake of their heads.

Now it was time for the two Maccabees, Captain Roth and Major Bachman, to pounce on me. The court-appointed defense attorney had just made a statement followed by a question: "According to what has been established so far, you were not the chief of construction, nor were you the boss. So you had no jurisdiction over this goddamn building site in Mühldorf—is that correct?"

Of course, that was the case. Neither I nor my employees had anything to do with these construction sites of the "Central Planning Office." Neither with the planning nor with the scheduling, neither with the construction management nor with the workers, nor with the prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp. I assured him that I had never set foot on the Mühldorf construction site, simply because I was not responsible for it and had even been instructed by the highest authorities not to concern myself with these buildings.

The next day, the prosecution brought a concentration camp kapo to the witness stand. He looked like a criminal, and after Captain Morton Roth encouraged him with a shout of "Pick him out!", this crook walked up to me and said, "That's him!" Under oath on the witness stand, he then began: "Giesler was on the construction site. We all had to line up, and he arrived in a big black car. He was wearing a golden uniform, and he had women with him.

Then he gave a speech and laid the foundation stone."

Incidentally, I also ordered—according to his statement, probably to add to the festivity—a mass shooting of Russian prisoners of war.

"How many?" The Kapo remained modest: "Well, about 35, he said." The seven judges sat there as if the Kapo were preaching the gospel.

I then learned the details from the defense office: The Kapo's name was Lang, and he had actually been charged with "cruelty toward fellow prisoners." fellow prisoners, but instead he had received praise and open pats on the back and a carton of cigarettes as a bonus for doing the dirty work. He was released and boasted that he had thoroughly dipped the Nazi in water.

The defense had to do tedious but ultimately pointless work. It established that there had been no laying of the foundation stone, even though Lang had given the date. Documents showed that I was in the East at the time. All the Russian prisoners were still there; the Americans had counted them, according to the officer in charge of the Stalag. My uniform worn in the OT service was presented. It bore no rank insignia, only the sleeve stripe "Org. Tode," but also the swastika armband—and that was worse than if it had been spun from pure, self-stolen gold.

Another witness for the prosecution appeared against me, an authorized representative of the construction company Leonhard Moll, whom I did not know. Under oath and with an air of self-importance, he declared: "Giesler was the initiator and person responsible for the construction sites in Mühldorf and Kaufering/Landsberg."

How could such a mendacious statement be explained? Then it dawned on me: what Polensky and Zöllner were in Mühldorf, Leonhard Moll was in Kaufering/Landsberg. And the conditions on both construction sites were the same, because Moll had also been assigned prisoners from Dachau as unskilled laborers. But for whatever reason, the prosecution had not included the Moll company in the trial. I assume – I cannot prove it – that the company was offered the opportunity to distance itself from the construction project with all its executives by making false statements under oath, if only to hang me.

I waited tensely for the next blow. It was dealt to me by the OT doctor, Dr. Baumgärtl. Although I recognized him, he was unable to identify me among the 14 defendants. "You're excited," said Morton Roth, "walk down the row and take another calm look at all the defendants." When the doctor stood in front of me again, the honorable prosecutor cleared his throat audibly, but it didn't help. "Did the defendant Giesler wear glasses?" Yes, the doctor remembered. It wasn't true, but it didn't matter. Glasses were brought from somewhere and I had to put them on. Finally, Baumgärtl recognized me clearly. The following was recorded in the minutes: "The prosecution witness, Dr. Baumgärtl, has clearly identified the defendant Giesler."

It was probably the case that the prosecutors had not given him the number I was wearing during the trial, assuming that I was well known to him, or the doctor was playing it safe. Then came Dr. Baumgärtl's statement under oath: he had repeatedly pointed out to me during meetings the poor state of health of the prisoners employed in Mühldorf.

That was not true either. There had never been such a discussion, nor had I ever been informed by Baumgärtl or anyone else about conditions in Mühldorf.

"What did Giesler do in response?" asked the prosecution.

"Nothing."

"What could he have done?"

"He could have confiscated the Wehrmacht's medical depots and the pharmacies in Munich to help the prisoners!"

By the Hippocratic oath! This Dr. Baumgärtl was sitting at the time in the large southern medical depot of the OT headquarters, near the construction site in Mühldorf. And a few days earlier, his pharmacist had testified in court that he had duly handed over this huge depot to the American army. He proudly referred to the handover reports. His inventory lists showed that the medical depot would have been sufficient for many divisions!

Cross-examination could have torn this statement to shreds, but the court-appointed defense attorney was not present when Dr. Baumgärtl made his absurd statement. The defendant himself had, after all, in these trials

He has no right to ask questions; he may only speak when he is on the witness stand in his own case. Thus, the doctor escaped cross-examination. I had the impression that Baumgärtl's behavior had been carefully coordinated with my defense attorney's absence.

The next day, Mr. Welch shook his head as he read the transcript: "Now all we have left is Dorsch... but if I call him to the witness stand and he tells the truth, then he's hanged. So he won't tell the truth, and that means you're hanged... exactly! I'm afraid you're in a tight spot."

During a break in the proceedings, Welch told me that he had sent an investigator to Nuremberg to obtain an affidavit from Speer himself. Speer was to answer the question: Who was responsible for planning and executing the construction of the large bunker in Mühldorf?

Mr. Welch said, "Speer has already been sentenced, so he can tell the truth." One day, Speer's affidavit was read out in court by the investigator, a major. I didn't understand everything, but I was able to gather the following from the reading: Speer did not tell the truth; he evaded giving a clear statement. Speer could have said: I alone am responsible for the Mühldorf building. He could have said: These buildings were planned by Dorsch or by the OT headquarters and designated for construction by Hitler, but ultimately Dorsch reported to me, so I was responsible together with Dorsch. That would have been the truth!

But he did not say that in his affidavit. He left open who was responsible, saying only that I was more or less an artistically active architectural draftsman, self-taught, and therefore probably not suited for large engineering tasks, as I lacked the necessary expertise.

The Speer affidavit was described by the court as vague, unclear, and inconclusive, and was not considered in my favor. I am not saying that I would not have been convicted if Speer had answered the question truthfully. They wanted to convict me!

Towards the end of the trial, some of the witnesses I had named were heard. They seemed intimidated, and their exculpatory statements were met with little interest by the court. Then I finally had the opportunity to appear before the court as a witness in my own case. I was the only defendant in this trial who took the witness stand and thus

the dreaded cross-examination by the prosecution, which lasted a whole day. Finally, I was able to speak up, and the accusers did not destroy me; I destroyed them. In the end, the second accuser, Major Bachman, threw the trial documents on the floor of the military court in a fit of rage

and shouted that I was a "traitor" and demanded "death by hanging," just like his nasty predecessor, prosecutor No. 1, Captain Morton Roth.
This was followed by the closing arguments and the court's deliberations. As I later learned, there had been heated discussions in my case; some of the judges were apparently not entirely convinced of my guilt, and one Irish American judge refused to be swayed, so instead of "death by hanging," I received "life with hard labor." As I was led away, I saw that French officer again, his face frozen in a grim expression.
"You mention this French officer—wasn't he a lieutenant?—it stands out in your report. Why?"
Some time ago, Mr. Welch paid me a farewell visit here, with words of comfort, telling me not to give up hope and so on. During the visit, he mentioned this Frenchman, Lieutenant Cerutti. He said that during the trial, Cerutti had confidentially informed him of the dirty tricks the prosecution was using against me and had brought these machinations to the attention of the higher review commission in a statement. He was convinced that I had only been convicted because of false testimony that had been ordered, and he was doing everything in his power to secure my freedom. He also said that he himself mir Welch, be convinced of my innocence and, although the matter no longer concerned him, in a written statement to the Commission.
Perhaps it will be of some use, said Six, at least it is now on file. Perhaps, he added after a pause. But what happened next? I interrupted you.
There's not much more to tell. The evening after the verdict was announced, I was lying on the cell bunk, now back in Bunker I, waiting to be transfer to the Landsberg War Crimes Prison. I thought about my situation and pondered how best to end it all.
I heard shuffling footsteps in the hallway through the open feeding and observation hatch in the barricaded door. It was a pastor. But what I heard and saw was not soul-comforting; it was more reminiscent of the Inquisition. "You're Giesler with the life sentence, aren't you? The Gauleiter's brother. As for him, I was there when the Americans had him dug up in Berchtesgaden to make sure it was really him. I made sure he was buried outside the cemetery wall." And in an unctuous tone: "He didn't deserve consecrated ground!"
That was probably the fitting end to the day. You can imagine what I felt and thought and what I wanted to do, if only I could have. Here in Landsberg, Monsignor Morgenschweiß* is trying so hard that one would like to forget his Christian brother in the Lord and zealous shepherd of souls from Dachau.

I jumped up in anger. When I lay down on the bunk again, my anger turned to defiance, which strengthened my resolve: "You won't break me!"
I looked at my friend. Did I do it again? No, that's how you are, and you didn't say a word too many.
The admission? WCP Landsberg 1947
Tell me about your first days here in Landsberg! Once again, my friend F. A. Six and I took advantage of the free hour; we walked together in the prison yard: I would like to hear your account of what it was like here before we Nuremberg convicts were transferred to Landsberg.
After you "Nurembergers" arrived here, a lot changed. The tension, the eerie pressure, the senseless and brutal arbitrariness were slowly dismantled, and we could breathe again... but you will have experienced those times yourself during your time at the CIC in Heidelberg with its mean and nasty methods and in the notorious interrogation camp in Oberursel.
The day after the verdict, we were transferred from the Mühldorf trial in Dachau
We were crammed into a police van and driven to Landsberg. After the usual shouting—“Hurry up! Let's go!”—we stood there, still reeling from the rocking motion of the vehicle, in a prison yard. The prison commander himself did us the honor of giving us a welcome speech. A German American assistant, a kind of prison servant, translated:
"You have been brought here to serve your sentence without mercy through hard labor or to be executed!" Then we were herded into a wing and registered. I was told that I no longer had a name, that I was now prisoner number 812.
812. I don't know what happened to Dr. Flocken.
We had to undress, take a cold shower, and see a doctor, and then we were dressed in black-dyed, worn-out American uniforms. The letters WCPL were stamped in white paint on the back of the uniform shirt, identifying us as war criminals.
, which identified us as war criminals.
Franz Auer and the other death row inmates were given red jackets and separated from us. Then we shuffled in worn-out Ohio shoes without laces into the cell block of the prison star. The barred gates of the sluices clanged and slammed shut again, our shuffling footsteps echoing in the long corridors past the cells.
Like rabbits in a hutch, the curious heads of the prisoners peered out of the open feeding hatches in the cell doors. We went up to the top floor of the side wing, always accompanied by the clanging and crashing of the iron gates that secured the stairwells.

that secured the stairwells. A cell door was unlocked, I was pushed inside, and the iron-clad plank door slammed shut behind me. I had arrived, at the lowest rung of existence, on Ascension Day 1947. It had taken two years to get there, via prisons, penitentiaries, CIC cellars, cages, camps, and the bunkers of the former Dachau concentration camp.

Now I was standing in a truly beastly, stinking cell, gasping for breath, and then retching into the bucket from which the terrible stench was coming—I don't want to describe it. The high cell window was boarded up, with only a little light shining through the cracks. Who knows how long

had left the cell with the excrement in the bucket to stew, so that it took on a nauseating smell. Added to this was the heat.

I lay on the floor because I thought I would suffocate otherwise. Then the food hatch in the plank door fell down. I was immediately up and with my head at the hatch... when the Polish guard's baton banged against the door... "Get out of there!" But I continued to breathe, with my head in the hatch, and the stale air, the prison stench on the top floor, felt like fresh spring water.

Later, a salted herring was thrown onto the food hatch—dinner. I got nothing to drink. Since then, I have learned to appreciate a sip of water or, in the future, if we ever experience it, a cup of wine. I threw the herring straight into the bucket; I felt sorry for it—the herring—but I convinced myself

that it might give the stench a different nuance.

The hatch remained open, thank God, for nightly checks with piercingly bright spotlights: "Hey, you're lying so that I can see your head and hands," the Polish guard encouraged my half-awake state. It was like being in the courtroom bunker in Dachau.

For menial tasks, the Americans had formed the Poles into guard companies in blue uniforms, both for indoor duties and for the watchtowers along the prison walls.

In the neighboring cells, prisoners were screaming for water, so some of us had resorted to eating the salted herring out of hunger. "Are you thirsty?"

' I heard the Pole say, and he banged his club against the railing of the walkway. Here, too, helmets clattered on the stone floors of the corridors at night, serving as makeshift soccer balls.

This isolation lasted eight days and nine nights. They called it quarantine. Then, in accordance with the verdict, I was assigned to hard labor. A trustee took care of that, a shrewd fellow named Iserles. A prisoner, yes, but, as I heard, a chosen one, a kapo from the Jewish camp in Dachau. Condemned by the Americans, he nevertheless stood

I was held in high regard by the prison administration and had a special status. The guards led me to the photo shop, where the criminal photos were taken, en face and en profil, with the number 812 on a small sign, and my fingerprints were taken for the umpteenth time.

Then back to the guard tower in the central building. There they shaved my head and shaved me with a machine which, guided by strong hands, painfully disfigured me. Now on to the central office.
Then back to the guard tower in the central building. There they shaved my head and shaved me with a machine which, guided by strong hands, painfully disfigured me. Now on to the 'hard work'. As I passed by, I saw myself in a dark window and thought: 'Oh, my head is full of blood
and wounds!' We went down into the basement, into the 'boiler room', as it was called, under the intersection of the cell blocks. With 'reassignment', the Iserles handed me over to a huge gorilla.
He said to me, "I'm in charge here." He was the kapo of the coal bunker and the boiler room. He had already been a kapo in the Dachau concentration camp, and now, after being convicted by the Americans in the Dachau trials, he was in charge here. This bogeyman of the plutonic underworld of the WCP Landsberg was called Peter Bongartz. He knew exactly who I was; he had been informed and given tips. In any case, one glance was enough to see that this man was dangerous! But there was also a highly remarkable good spirit down there who took me under his wing. I got to know him a little later.
The Kapo assigned me to work. Clad only in a pair of old, dirty underpants – to protect my private parts – I had to crawl into a disused boiler to clean the smoke ducts. No sooner had I arrived than a full load of soot and fly ash hit me on the head. I spat and shouted, "Hey, stop!" "Shut up," came the muffled reply.
"What are you doing there anyway? How did you get into the damn furnace? Who are you?"
"The gorilla out there got me..." "That's nonsense, I'm already too much here on my own... but now I know, you're the new guy! Get out of here, because I'm going to push all this into the fireplace."
He meant ash, soot, and scraped-off coal pitch. Soon after, I crawled backwards over the fire grate and emerged from the stove, battered by the rough soot, followed by the Berliner, thin but muscular and tough. We looked at each other, both black as pitch. "I know who you are
I'm Walter." That's how I got to know him, a Berliner, former Kapo or barracks elder in Dachau.
I remained silent and stood still to slow down my friend's quick pace. That was usually the case; F. A. Six couldn't be kept to the leisurely, measured pace of a prisoner with years ahead of him. I laughed: "I can also tell you the rest of my first day at work in the boiler house. It's a great story." "Go on," my friend encouraged me.

The Blue Mouse

After starting my first day of "hard labor" cleaning boilers and then finishing by carting coal and slag away, I trudged behind "Walter" to a dilapidated shower stall.

Dim light came from a coal shaft, where Walter was ranting and swearing: "The calcified shower head, the lukewarm water, the slippery floor, the bad soap, the filthy food, the whole rotten

Prison, and he didn't forget the Americans either, giving them flowery introductions before saying matter-of-factly, "I'll wash your hump, you wash mine." While he soaped his head and front, I started on his hump. "Why did the Americans sentence you?" I wanted to know. As the barracks elder in the Dachau concentration camp, he would have given a "fine gentleman" from Budapest a good beating, in the name of discipline and order. "And then when the Americans came to liberate us, that vengeful scoundrel ratted me out!"

"How did you end up in the concentration camp in the first place? What do you do for a living?" He said he was a trained mechanic, but without further ado he said, "I was a so-called anti-social element, I had a horse running in Berlin and stuff like that... Hey, why are you rubbing that sand soap so hard on my hump?"

I told him I couldn't get it off, that it was burned in and wouldn't come off. "Well, well!" I said, surprised to discover that they were tattoos. "That's just the beginning, those are just the arabesques, the ornaments, or whatever you call them. The main ones are still to come!" he said and turned away.

He had a somewhat ravaged face with quick, pale blue eyes and thin, light reddish hair on his head. But what was that? I took a step back so I could see him better: "Walter" was tattooed from his shoulders to almost his knees, and even his arms were covered in bizarre ornamentation and realistic, symbolic images.

The main elements of the painting were already visible, albeit still partly smudged and smeared. Two naked women leaned against his chest from the left and right. Looking back, I later saw two more women, apparently from his Berlin circle, forming a quadrille or quadriga, depending on how you look at it, which was once at his disposal. Between them was a flaming heart pierced by an arrow.

The ladies' garters with bows above the knees were certainly taken from a Toulouse Lautrec model. They formed a strange contrast: dark blue with red on his characteristic white skin, beneath which were his bony knees and sinewy, muscular calves, slightly covered with reddish hair.

An artist specializing in this field had been at work to embellish Walter. The overall design, the tendrils with the main elements within them, could be described as late Art Nouveau.

He diligently continued washing with soap and a cloth, and with satisfaction he saw my astonishment and said, almost apologetically, "Now it's all scrubbed off? Man, when I get something proper to eat again and put some fat on my bones, then it'll all come out really well!"
He straightened up and took a deep breath, and the ladies on his chest became moving pictures.
Then I saw the inscription on his belly below his navel, in decorative, almost Cyrillic letters, and I spelled out: "Mama's darling," in dark blue, slightly blurred by reddish hair. "What did they give you, life or time?" "Well," said Walter, "25 years—that's a long time for a canary, but I'll serve it on a razor blade!" "But then the inscription won't be right anymore," I pointed out.
"Oh," he said, pointing below his belly button, "there's still room there. When the time comes, I'll get that tattooed in black: 'det war' (it was). Now finish washing my back, I've already done the fenders, and don't let the mouse scare you!"
Sure enough, a mouse was tattooed on one of the seats, scurrying for safety with geognostic instinct. And while I scrubbed the last lady off the quadriga, Walter told me the story of the blue mouse.
"That idea monster caused me a lot of grief. I wanted it tattooed on perfectly, dot for dot, and then I couldn't sit properly for weeks. And then, during the trial, when the guy I'd beaten up was called to identify me, he said, 'He's got a mouse tattooed on his butt!' Of course, that had been arranged with the prosecution.
I had to step forward and drop my pants. Was I embarrassed? No way, I showed them as much as I could, if only because of the tattoos. And then I bowed deeply to the audience and stuck my butt out at the high court... there was uproar, they felt insulted, but I just wanted to show them the mouse. They also gave me a harsh sentence, solitary confinement, bread and water and stuff, to be served after the 25 years, you understand!
I'll get through this too, after 25 years, hahaha, Walter can handle it, the Americans can't, they're crazy, so don't worry about your life, he consoled me.
From then on, Walter took me under his wing and protected me. I don't know how I would have fared down there without him, because the gorilla was obviously out to harass me and wear me down.
The very next day, Walter felt compelled to give Peter Bongartz a piece of his mind: "You leave him alone, once and for all. He's my work buddy. Remember that, Bongartz.

It would be a shame if, out of sheer zeal for your work and purely by mistake, you burned the pint on my bar... and then no one would admit to it!" Bongartz, he told me, had a 35-meter record, in that department. They always used such veiled expressions; what he meant was a criminal record for assault.

In the last months of 1947, before those convicted in Nuremberg after the IMT trial in Nuremberg were transferred to Landsberg War Crimes Prison, we often had inspections here, unrelated to the macabre Friday routines.

It was during the midday roll call. As always, we were standing in the cell blocks, lined up according to work details. Then a group of zealous men came out of the gallows door, eagerly surrounding an egghead who was slowly walking past us, looking at us war criminals. Some claimed afterwards that it was McCloy, but I didn't believe that. Still, it was definitely some important crusader in civilian clothes from God's own country. They stopped right in front of Walter, the Berliner who was standing in front of me in the front row. The egghead had been pointed out to the former Kapo, and now he wanted to hear a comparative assessment from him about this Nazi concentration camp and the American War Crimes Prison Number 1. When this was translated into German and became clear to Walter, he said: "Männeken, let me tell you something: if it were possible, I'd crawl back to Dachau on my knees!" "He would like to go back to Dachau," was translated for the egghead. He turned away and didn't waste another glance on the ungrateful people.

The Berliner was released long before me; as he had expected, his 25 years had passed quite quickly. But before he could leave here with a plane ticket to Berlin, he had to serve his enhanced arrest in a dark
cellar on bread and water because of the little beast, the blue mouse.

Landsberg grotesques

The psychologist Professor Dr. Katzenellenbogen

In my neighboring cell in Landsberg sat the physician Dr. Eisele. He had been sentenced to death in the first Dachau trial, but soon after, to everyone's great astonishment, the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. There was a lot of back and forth about Eisele. He was sent back to Dachau, where he was thrown into

the motley crew of the Buchenwald trial, between the hereditary prince Josias zu Waldeck und Pyrmont and the shady Edwin Katzenellenbogen zu Lemberg und Tschernowitz.

One day, the convicts from the Buchenwald trial arrived in Landsberg. I couldn't believe my eyes: there, next to the prince I knew from Weimar, stood the psychologist from Bunker I, Katzenellenbogen. He too was now in Arcadia, somewhat battered and wrinkled from losing weight, but all the more malicious for it. He had earned himself a "farewell" in the trial. But surely that was better for the Americans' favorite than falling into the hands of the French version of the VVN. And among the "new arrivals" was Dr. Eisele again, whom I had met earlier in the bunker. He had now gone to Dachau for the second time. But soon he took off his red jacket for the second time and was pushed into my neighboring cell as a life prisoner.

This was against all the rules; he must have had influential advocates in God's own country. But he didn't talk about it, and his influence seemed to be limited to the American authorities, because later, after two death sentences by hanging and two life sentences, he was surprisingly released from the War Crimes Prison in Landsberg and narrowly escaped persecution by the German authorities. At the instigation of Auerbach and Ohrenstein, there were plans to put him on trial again. Eisele fled to Egypt.

But before that happened, the multi-talented Eisele told me about the incident with the psychologist Professor Dr. Katzenellenbogen in the Buchenwald trial in Dachau. Heavily incriminated by witnesses, he took the witness stand at the end of the trial to defend himself. With his self-portrayal as a good man who had been falsely accused of evil deeds, he had almost moved the audience to tears.

If now his good friend—so he added as a dramatic finale—62

the famous Professor Giraux from the Sorbonne (or was it the Charité? I cannot vouch for the spelling of the name) — if this famous professor could appear here, he would vouch for him, for his friend Katzenellenbogen, and testify what a noble man he was, how he had always helped him in all bad times — yes, that he even owed his life to his friend Katzenellenbogen! But alas, the famous professor could no longer come here because "the Ass-Ass had killed him." Well, that was plausible.

The next day, the prosecution began with the rebuttal, the re-examination of witnesses. The prosecutor announced to the high court: "As the next witness, I call Professor Giraux, Paris." So he had come after all to testify for his friend Katzenellenbogen; the Ass-Ass had not killed him.

But what followed after the formalities and the introduction of the witness was a well-considered move by the prosecution:

"Do you know a Professor Dr. Katzenellenbogen?"

"No," said the famous man. General astonishment.

"Do you know a Dr. Katzenellenbogen?"

"Mais non!"

"Do you know an Edwin Katzenellenbogen?"

"Yes!" the famous man exclaimed.

"Pick him out!" The professor from Paris did so without difficulty, as he had gotten to know his good friend well.

New question from the prosecutor:

"If this Katzenellenbogen makes statements under oath in the witness stand, is he credible, yes or no?" "Jamais!!"

"That's all? No further questions for the witness." The court then asked, "Does the defense have any questions? Then the witness is dismissed."

Now one might have thought, Eisele continued in his account, that Katzenellenbogen would have been devastated, but that was not the case at all. For when they were driven back into the courtroom bunker, one could hear Katzenellenbogen say

"Katzen" could be heard saying:

"Wasn't he great, the famous professor, and didn't he say a single bad word about me!"

"Beware of this psychologist!" concluded Dr. Eisele,

"He's capable of anything!"

With the approval of the prison administration, "Katzen" set up an informant service, finding plenty of eight-cent boys in prison. This earned him a mangled nickname that perfectly summed up his nature and aura. He persecuted me with Old Testament hatred, even though I avoided him.

One day, when his informers were gathered around him to receive orders, he announced: "This Giesler will never be released from prison—I've made sure of that with the people in charge!"

With all due respect for this Freudian psychologist, it was too much for me. I reported to the prison provost marshal. The strict and feared officer was correct. He listened attentively to my complaint about the Katzenellenbogen, which I turned into a question.

I said that the obligation to stand up for my family had been linked to my hope that the verdict would be reviewed. Only this had prevented me from taking a desperate step. I was aware that the review of a military tribunal's verdict would take a certain amount of time, but I was also aware that the completely unfounded verdict could not be upheld in the long run.

Now a prisoner with the aura of a super-capo was presuming to garnish his repulsive snooping on people's beliefs, based on his informer activities, with threatening remarks and even anticipating a review of the judgment. The question arose: "Is this just grandstanding, or should we take this nonsense seriously?"

"The prison here," said the major, "is like a pressure cooker. The prisoner Katzenellenbogen serves as a valve—admittedly—but nothing more. He's no eagle, he's an old crow, and we've plucked out the last of his feathers. Besides, we know our stuff. Take it easy, Giesler, forget it."

The psychologist Katzenellenbogen did not only cause evil and bad things, he also did good. He insisted that we German prisoners be given German food. The first potatoes, baked in their skins in the oven, were a culinary event!

Some time later, I was reduced to "life< 25 years," as Walter Neye put it. And a few years after that, it was only a manageable 12. And then the time came: I was released early, and my "discharge certificate" said "Excellent" under "Conduct."

The news spread like wildfire: Giesler is being released! It was before the midday roll call, and I was surrounded by fellow prisoners, including some tough guys—informers for the Katzenellenbogen. And yet he had assured us, finally in a credible manner, that Giesler would never be released!

I had the best advocate in the cat's elbow—the American said to himself, "If this stinker is slandering him, he must be a decent guy, we can let him go." The informants, I observed with amusement, hurriedly informed the psychologist.

Merry Christmas

The prisoner in the Landsberg War Crimes Prison received a package of food for the first time on Christmas 1947. The names of the package recipients were read out during roll call after the day's work. "Distribution will take place in the basement of the A wing. Bring your bedding!"

Now it was my turn, and I spread the old Woilach, which stank of disinfectant, on the distribution table. American Corporal Dennis, one of our most vicious prison guards, served me.

First there was a small Christmas tree in a red clay pot, a gift from the wife of the fallen gardener at the Ordensburg Sonthofen. Dennis tore the tree out of the pot and threw it backwards, where it smashed against the wall. He conscientiously crumbled the potting soil onto the

ceiling and laid the tree on top of it.

Now it was the package's turn. A Polish student assistant had removed the string and wrapping paper. There was a cake. It was admirable how Dennis dealt with it, crumbling it over the little tree. Some tobacco, a few cigars, and cigarettes followed. Dennis broke everything that had shape and scattered it over the little tree, over the crumbs of cake and soil.

Small tokens of love were broken or cut up. A book flew backwards against the basement wall, not a shred of paper escaped the conscientious Dennis.

flew backwards against the cellar wall, not a shred of paper escaped the meticulous Dennis.

The last thing he picked up, after careful consideration, was a preserving jar with a screw-top lid, containing something golden brown—malt syrup, as I later discovered.

Dennis unscrewed the lid, smelled it, and let the student assistant taste it. He licked his finger and nodded—no objections—and Dennis poured the contents evenly over everything, that is, as long as he had the patience, then the jar flew against the back wall and shattered.

The syrup dripped thickly from the branches of the little tree onto the tobacco, cake, and crumbs. Surely everything was fine, and Dennis had done the right thing, because the earth, the cake, and the tobacco could have contained dangerous weapons, poison, or secret messages. Everything was also perfectly hygienic, because Dennis was wearing white washcloths.

I gathered up my wool blanket. But Corporal Dennis could have spared himself the spiteful grimace when he said, "Merry Christmas!"

"That's none of our business!"

In the prison photo shop, I wrote the name and number of the superintendent in large letters for a prison 65.

The writing, affixed to a wooden board with a handle, was to be held under the chin of the high clergyman. He was then "photographed," as the photo shop master, a veteran, respectable German prison officer, described the process.
The superintendent was accompanied by Pastor Müller. I did not belong one of the sheep he was shepherding. He didn't pay any attention to me, which I appreciated. I had nothing against him; he seemed to me to be a simple man. In prison, he was called "Speck-Müller" (Speck Müller). This was probably because old mothers from Franconia had laboriously made their way to Landsberg to visit their sons who had been SS soldiers and were now waiting for the executioner in red jackets.
If they couldn't see their sons, they went to the priest and asked him to pass on their greetings and a piece of bacon. The greetings were easy, but passing a piece of bacon through the feeding and surveillance hatch was not easy. The Catholic prison priest, Karl Morgenschweiß, could have done this with ease. I am convinced he would have let the guards smell the bacon first and then smiled and asked them for a knife to cut the bacon into bite-sized pieces for the prisoner.
Not so Pastor Müller, who passed on the greetings, but with the bacon. he had fed his brood with the bacon, God knows, times were lean back then. But he was open and honest, and he said to the prisoner: 'There was still some bacon left, I needed it for my family—you don't need it anymore, you've been sentenced to death.'
That's how it's supposed to have happened, though maybe only once, I don't know. But you get angry in prison, and every little thing gets noticed or even exaggerated. In any case, his name took shape all by itself.
While I was writing the tags, I heard what it was all for: the superintendent wanted to preach in the prison church. And to get in, he needed a prison pass.
The "criminal badge" with name and number was written and attached to the wooden board. I now paid particular attention to the conversation between the men of God.
"It's very difficult to look after those condemned to death," said Pastor Müller, "it's a great burden for me. Many of them talk to me and ask me to pass on messages. They assure me that they are innocent and have been convicted on the basis of false statements. Some even claim that there has been a case of mistaken identity. One of them told me..."
The superintendent interrupted him:
"That's none of our business, whether they're guilty or innocent, we don't care. We're only here to look after their souls, stick to that

to that, and stay out of everything else, reject everything else . . ."
Perhaps this was in keeping with the customs of Protestant Christian prisoner care, because the Catholic prison chaplain Morgenschweiß thought and acted differently. He knew about the brutal sentences handed down by the Dachau tribunals, and the executions in Landsberg were almost a weekly occurrence. He took every step to counter the injustice.
I had had enough and stood up: "How nice of you to be so modest and content with souls! Whether guilty or innocent, it's none of your business, you can't be interested in that? You should be ashamed of yourself!"
I didn't shout, but I spoke loudly and clearly. I'm sure I broke through the taboo zones that surround a superintendent and behind which he carries out his work. At first, everything was quiet in the photo shop. I looked into the empty but arrogant face of the superintendent. He asked,
"Who is that?" Pastor Müller replied quietly, "That's Giesler." Singing
in prison
During cross-examination before the military tribunal in Dachau, the Jewish prosecutor Morton Roth stated that I no longer belonged to a Christian church. "But you will rejoin the church, won't you?" he asked me pointedly. "No." The prosecutor's hand gesture to the judges in uniform indicated: There you have it! I'm sure his hand gesture would have been similar, perhaps a little lower, if I had said, "Yes."
So I did not attend the church service for prisoners in Landsberg, but I heard the devout hymns across the enclosed courtyard between the church and the D wing, where I had my cell.
Those were the days when death sentences were carried out, usually on Fridays. As long as the executioner with the rope had passed them by this time, the red jackets were all sitting safely in the church, under the word of God and the hard eyes of the guards, less to hear messages of salvation than to whisper conjectures, hear slogans, see their comrades, and—how do you say it today? — well, to break the isolation torture.
I should have asked who had held the service that Sunday. Was it the Protestant prison chaplain Müller, whom we called "Speck-Müller," or was it, for once, the superintendent, whose face I can still see so clearly? Or was it Pastor Hess, who also held services as a prisoner?
"Speck-Müller," or was it, as an exception, the superintendent, whose face I can still see so clearly? Or was it Pastor Hess, who also held services as a prisoner? The devil knows why he, convicted of war crimes, was imprisoned in Landsberg Prison for a short time. Apparently it was a mistake, like so many things in those years. After his release from Landsberg i n 1947

his release from Landsberg, Pastor Werner Hess worked as a representative of the church in voluntary film self-regulation and then became director of Hessian radio. I didn't hear what was preached, but the singing reached me: "God has brought us this far in his great goodness!"

I have been told that a pastor is well capable of reconciling the cruel death sentence of hanging for soldiers who were doing their duty with God's goodness. Of course, this requires a childlike mind on both sides, without suspicion. Pastor Müller, for example, could not be accused of this.

The old party member Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

When the convicts from the Nuremberg trials were transferred to the War Crimes Prison in Landsberg/Lech, the conditions of detention slowly improved.

With Alf ried Krupp, Friedrich Flick, several former Reich ministers, field marshals, generals, high-ranking military doctors and researchers, the chemists of IG Farben, and industrialists, the press interest in the WCP Landsberg grew. This shed light on the prison and its circumstances, albeit dimly at first, like a dim light.

A colonel, a decent soldier and a fair-minded man, was appointed "prison director" and put in charge of the prison. His conduct soon influenced the behavior of all ranks. When you had dealings with him, he drew little figures; they hung on the gallows, and he gave them the distinctive features of a hair tuft and beard, as practiced by primitive caricaturists.

"All Nazis must be hanged," he said, feeling comfortable as a crusader from God's own country.

But he didn't mean any harm; he was good-natured—unless he was obeying a harsh order from Heidelberg. Under him, the prison rules changed radically. After the day's work, lectures could be held, training courses took place, and language lessons were given. First-rate specialists in all disciplines from among the prisoners made themselves available. The Red Jackets were excluded, of course.

My fellow prisoner Moosberg was responsible for coordinating these teaching activities and for scheduling the lectures, which had to be approved by the prison administration. He was a journalist and belonged to the "China Men." This was a former Canaris group, men who had been working freelance in East Asia before the war and were deployed by the Japanese as an intelligence team after Pearl Harbor.

The Americans then convicted them as war criminals and sent them to

Landsberg. With one exception, they were all good and capable men who also proved to be comrades, including Moosberg, who was of Jewish descent. Almost without exception, the Americans had employed them as "trustees" and interpreters in the prison administration.

In addition to my work, I belonged to the "teaching staff" and had contact and conversations with Moosberg. He also shared the "news" that came his way.

"You know that Schwerin wants to give a lecture on Goethe's 200th birthday? I have duly reported this to the prison's senior management, requesting permission: Prisoner Lutz Graf Schwerin von Krosigk, former Reich Minister of Finance, lecture on J.W. von Goethe. But the prison's chief officer has intervened!"

Moosberg paused meaningfully. I looked at him, his flared nostrils above his curious nose suggesting a journalistic delicacy.

"Who is this goddamn fucking Göte? I am sure he is another big Nazi," she said.

"No, no, sir, Goethe died well over 100 years ago."

"Assuming that's the case, I don't see why we should still be talking about this Göte."

Moosberg grinned: "But Schwerin can still talk about this Göte."

Colonel Graham

A Polish guard in a dark blue American uniform took me out of the cell: "You go to the tower." That was the center of the prison

prison, the central surveillance point for the four cell wings. Master Sergeant Hauberger was sitting there and gave me a slip of paper. "To the colonel? Go on," he growled through his chewing gum.

Every time I looked at the Hauberger, I remembered a remark made by Hitler: "A German who emigrates to America is lost to German culture in a short time."

Through the metal gate with the obligatory and physically unpleasant pat-down and with an honor guard to ensure I didn't get lost, I was delivered to the large room with the eager beavers. Soon I was standing in front of the colonel's desk. He drew a gallows with a hanged man on the left, carefully shading it in: "What was the name of your accuser at the Dachau Tribunal?"

"Captain Morton Roth," I said.

"No, no," said the colonel, "that can't be right.

'Oh, I had two of them—Major Bachmann, does that fit better?'

"That's correct." Then he told me a strange story:

He had been a court officer in Augsburg, and it was about the conviction of an American officer, but it didn't matter, forget it, he added. The defense attorney for this officer was none other than Major Bachman.
After the verdict, he spoke to me and said, "Colonel, you are the prison director of the War Crimes Prison in Landsberg, aren't you? You have a prisoner there named Giesler. Do you know him?"
Of course, the colonel knew me because I had painted his wife from photographs he had sent me in my cell. However, since he couldn't describe her complexion or hair color to me, he allowed me to take a look at his wife in his office. Later, he said something like,
"The picture is quite good, but now I've got a problem: she's demanding that I get her the evening dress you painted her in." Nevertheless, I was in his good books.
In a tone as if he had some big news to tell me, the colonel explained:
"Major Bachman assured me that you, Giesler, are not a war criminal , he said he knew that for a fact because, as the prosecutor, he was aware of all the facts!
I then asked the major, if Giesler wasn't a war criminal, why was he sent to Landsberg? The major told me, "We wanted to finish him off because he's a Nazi."
The colonel looked at me with a feigned grim expression and pointed to his scribbles, the man on the gallows, as if to say, "You're lucky." Yes, that was true, depending on how you looked at it, because Bachmann and Roth had actually wanted to send me to the gallows.
"And now," said the colonel, "you write to Major Bachman! When I have what he said to me in writing, I'll take it to Heidelberg. You'll be fired from the WCP Landsberg in no time! Refer to the conversation he had with me in Augsburg."
He turned to the interpreter: "Envelope and address from here." I thought: "Good, decent colonel," and said: "I'm not writing to Major Bachman—thank you very much, Colonel, but I'm not writing under any circumstances—you know him fleetingly, I know him better... impossible!" The colonel cursed and turned red. Outraged by my stubbornness, he had me taken back to the cell block.
The day after next: "Giesler to the front," which meant being given Hauberger's marching orders and sent to the prison administration. "Special visiting permission on the orders of the colonel," I was told. My wife and eldest son were waiting for me. I now learned that the colonel had not been able to rest; he wanted to help. He arranged for my wife to be brought to Landsberg and informed her about the conversation with Major Bachmann and my stubbornness. She had

I then attempted to explain to the colonel why I could not write to Bachman. However, she was willing to visit the major and request this written explanation for the headquarters in Heidelberg.

The colonel tried very hard to arrange a meeting, while my wife waited in the office for a long time. The colonel called for his secretary and interpreter. They told my wife that Major Bachman had thoroughly discredited the colonel during the phone call

and explained that there had never been a conversation between him and the colonel!

Later, I learned the details: After this phone call with Bachman, Colonel Graham, completely distraught, asked his secretary and interpreter, "Am I suffering from hallucinations? Have you noticed that I am out of my mind?" They calmed him down.

In any case, as compensation, I was given a special visiting hour and had the satisfaction of not having written anything. After about a week, the colonel let me come forward again.

"I'm sorry, but I want to speak to your lawyer now." I explained to him:

"That was the court-appointed defense attorney Dr. Welch, a lieutenant colonel and a man with a conscience and decency. He did his best, but he was no match for the prosecution Bachman-Roth and the military tribunal. He is now back home in New York. I don't have a German lawyer, but I could give you the name of a congressman who stood up for me."

He wanted to talk to him, and he said he still hadn't gotten over the Major Bachman affair. I thought to myself: What do I have to risk? He can only lock me up in a prison cell on bread and water—and I said abruptly and angrily: "Me neither, after all these long years here!" Colonel, you have now met the forger Major Bachman, who used threats and nastiness to force witnesses to perjure themselves against prisoners. What would you say if you experienced Satan Captain Morton Roth!

Colonel Graham's eyes widened and he looked at me grimly. But he continued to treat me well, and this had an effect on his officers.

Reeducation

There were strange activities in the War Crimes Prison. At regular intervals, an old man dragged two buckets of coal through the wide, echoing corridors and hallways of the prison. It was Friedrich Flick, who had

skill between the First and Second World Wars. Now, as a war criminal, he was involved in coal transport, which was not entirely unfamiliar to him.
He supplied the cabins of the American and Polish guards, insofar as they were not reached by the large steam boiler heating system. In these boiler monsters, in the substructures under the prison tower, I had the honor of poking and prodding around for a while.
Friedrich Flick also supplied the fortress section of the prison where Adolf Hitler was held at the time. There was a large room in which Prof. Dr. Six, two "China Men," a Tibet-Mongolia researcher, and the clever representative of IG Farben for Japan set up the new prison library. The shelves were filled with book donations from almost all publishers. In the center of the room stood a large potbelly stove. That is ultimately what my story is about. Another strange activity was carried out by a man who was at least as old as Flick: slim, upright, an imposing figure. I can still see him in front of me:
He was wearing a tight, old, black-dyed American coat. The large letters WCP were painted on the back with white enamel paint using stencils. He wore a black peaked cap, a coarse sack hung sideways from his shoulders, and he held a stick with a clamp in his hand. The gaunt, bold face of a soldier: General Field Marshal Wilhelm List, a man of integrity.
His job now was to walk through the long halls, corridors, and corridors to pick up the cigarette butts that the Americans had thrown on the floor
and trampled on, along with empty Camel and Lucky Strike cigarette packs, wrappers, and Wrigley's gum wrappers. He had to pick up the spit-out or wall-stuck chewing gum, scrape it off, and put it in the sack.
God knows, the Americans valued order, cleanliness, and hygiene,
even if it meant sacrificing the dignity of a field marshal on the floor of Landsberg Prison. Twenty-five years later, I spoke with a committed lawyer, a young American. He said, "I wouldn't have let them do that to me!"
put up with that!'
You have no idea, I told him. You had to quit immediately while you still had the freedom to do so, because once you were in the mill, it was too late. Exceptions only prove the rule. At first, you were a prisoner of military frontline units. They weren't from the Salvation Army, but at least there were decent soldiers and officers among them. Then, around August/September 1945, you fell into the hands of the CIC gangsters and sadists; at least that's what I had to deal with, and I use that term without hesitation. Step by step, things went downhill: camps, prisons, via Dachau or Nuremberg to Landsberg.

There, old Flick worked as a coal carrier on a bucket basis, the field marshal was allowed to collect cultural debris of American provenance, and I had to work as a coal and slag trimmer under the supervision of a Kapo who had 35 previous convictions.
This was by no means the beginning of re-education; it served rather to humiliate and degrade us. They wanted to break our backbone, to corrupt us, just as they were corrupting and destroying the German people with the help of willing German helpers and a press that was up for anything.
with the aim of "questioning everything" and "reevaluating all values."
You said earlier that you didn't let them get away with it. What do you think the field marshal should have done? Should he have refused to work?
He would have been locked up in the dark cells in the basement for mutiny.
We experienced that in Landsberg too!
General Hermann Reinecke had been a soldier for over 40 years when he was convicted of nothing. He was employed in the WCP in the utility shop, in the equipment store. That's where the rope pulley for the gallows was kept. The Americans were once again making preparations for the execution of the sentences of "death by hanging."
"Get the pulley and cut the ropes to 20 feet in length!" General Reinecke refused: "I will not help carry out these sentences."
He was sent to the basement, a dark cell, and given harsher conditions, and was subjected to one form of harassment after another. For example, his cell was turned upside down, and of course a half razor blade was found, as was customary. The general won the respect of his comrades, but he achieved nothing with the Americans, only hardship for himself, which he had to bear for a long time!
Should the field marshal take his own life? How? He could have secretly starved himself to death, because I can't imagine him using a rope he tied himself.
General Blaskowitz threw himself from the top corridor of the prison into the depths—not really something for a general, but he had probably ignored that, just like he had ignored the railing. Not so the Americans, who had stretched wire mesh across the prisons that served them well.
Because of his dignity, you mean? List hadn't lost that. It happened once in prison that the field marshal reprimanded Malatesta*, a veteran soldier of the Leibstandarte, because something about him didn't please him. A piece of the uniform was torn off, and the cane
for the cigarette butts became an interim baton. Malatesta stood to attention and said, "Yes, Field Marshal!"
The Americans had observed this from the tower. "Come on, guy," said Master Sergeant Hauberger. "What did he want from you? He has no authority over you. You don't have to stand at attention in front of him! That's all, let's go!"
The field marshal said to me, "The stain does not fall on me, who am

prisoner, helpless and without free will. The fact that I am forced to walk around with a sack to collect rubbish reflects badly on the Americans, who cannot do enough to talk about human dignity.' Prince Philip of Hesse, with whom I had conversations in a cell in the Dachau bunker in 1946, expressed himself in similar terms.

I have to conclude that despite all efforts, in our eyes it is a lost cause.

they did not lose any of the dignity they had acquired over decades of work for the nation and for themselves.

Speaking of dignity and shamelessness, I recently read in the press: "I hope that this will never be repeated, anywhere or at any time," said President Nixon at the grave of Tanja, the legendary victim of the German siege of Leningrad. He laid a wreath and was surrounded by Soviet officials.

And at the same time, under the great silence of God, napalm and phosphorus are being poured onto these girls, who may have different names in Vietnam, dropped by Americans whom President Nixon also represents in Leningrad, and their bombs are exploding among innocent women and children.

This is happening on the orders and with the acquiescence of this president, who certainly behaved with the dignity of the moment and wore a grave expression.

Of course, the grenades and rockets supplied by the Russians are also hitting from the other side. I am now deliberately choosing a form of expression from the English-speaking world: "I fear" that the whole thing is not only undignified, and "I fear" that it is boundless hypocrisy. And if your president doesn't even notice that, then it will only get worse. You can accuse me of polemics and intolerance, but that would be a cheap way out of a sober assessment.

The American lawyer said it had been an interesting conversation. In Landsberg, the prison library gradually came into use, and the holdings gave us new insights. Professor Six found a way to involve the coal carrier Flick and the garbage collector List in the library work. This put an end to the embarrassing activity of the field marshal, which had been weighing on all of us.

Flick began to work on his corporation in the library, shielded by Six, piecing together a pair of trousers, then a whole suit, from the remaining parts of his coal and steel empire. List distributed books to the cells.

He couldn't do it alone; the books had to be registered, collected, and checked. So the prison administration, cleverly and wisely, assigned another worker, namely the captured Professor Dr. Edwin Katzenellenbogen.

He collected the books with a shrill, drawn-out cry: "Books!" He honored me with his undiminished hatred. He was undoubtedly a rare specimen. When Six was in the hospital once, the field marshal took care of me. When I came home from work, he gave me my ration: it was "Des deutschen Spießers Wunderhorn" by Meyrink.

"Field Marshal, you can't do this to me, you know my views!"

"Aha," he said, "so that's how it is—I assume this Meyrink is a Jew. That's precisely why you should read the book! Burning books—that's the least you've done, but it was the easiest thing to do. Tolerance and rethinking would suit you better."

"That's not how it is, I have my own values. You can give me a book by Buber, by Tucholsky, cynical articles by Harden,

critiques by Kerr, something by Heine or Einstein, yes, even the Old Testament in Luther's language. But not Meyrink's malicious jokes with the satirical title of the romantic Brentano, whose world remained closed to Meyrink!"

The field marshal was somehow impressed: "Nevertheless, please read the book. You can exchange it on Wednesday."

I thought to myself, now the field marshal is even starting re-education. I read the book. On Wednesday, I went to the library and the field marshal was alone. I put the book on the exchange counter.

"Read it?"

"Yes, as you requested."

"That's good."

"Field Marshal, do you know this book?" "No."

"Then please do as I asked and read this one page."

He looked at me suspiciously, sensing something, but he read. I will summarize it briefly, as I remember it:

According to Meyrink's description, a kind of giant's grave had been dug up in the Danube plain and something had been found. An iron-bound chest contained an indefinable, tough, sticky, stinking substance. Even chemists couldn't analyze it. Then someone with a vivid imagination, perhaps Mr. Meyrink himself, had a brainwave. Yes, it couldn't be anything else, it was a fossilized, rotten officer's word of honor*.

The field marshal turned pale, then red. He said only two words and threw the book—a belated auto-da-fé—into the potbelly stove, where the patched coals were glowing. Then he turned to me, but I remained serious, bowed slightly, and left the library room silently.

Then he turned to me, but I remained serious, bowed slightly, and left the library in silence.

Turmoil

How was it that, despite the clear order from the Führer on March 19, after the disaster at Remagen and its dire consequences, the important bridges over the Isar in Munich were not blown up? That was the question posed by my friend F.A. Six, and he continued: "From your hints, I gathered that your brother was particularly committed to preserving the bridges. That's strange because, as a loyal follower of Adolf Hitler, he stood by his orders.

Of course, but he wasn't a destroyer. He had thought everything through. He told me that he was committed to preserving the bridges and took responsibility for that."

responsibility. And because it made sense to blow up the bridges in this military situation, the Führer would also understand his decision. In the War Crimes Camp Zuffenhausen, in Dachau, and also here in Landsberg, I always heard the opposite account. There it was and still is claimed as "fact" that the Gauleiter ordered the blowing up of all bridges, but that this was prevented by a corporal, a sergeant, a major—depending on who told me—and then by Captain Gerngroß of the "Freedom Action Bavaria" through his coup. That is all nonsense and propaganda. The preservation or destruction of the Munich bridges was decided at a different level, after fierce disputes between Field Marshal Kesselring and my brother as Reich Defense Commissioner for the South. But I want to report on the events in Munich in context.

Since I could rely on my staff—they were busy with the construction units repairing bomb damage and maintaining roads, railways, and utilities—I spent many hours of the last few days in my brother's command post. I witnessed the course of the turbulent events, the constant changes in the military situation, the quick decisions that had to be made in all areas, and the meetings that were interrupted by phone calls, telegrams, and reports. I admired my brother's powerful calm;

he gave his orders without hysteria, and where necessary, he asserted himself energetically with clear commands. He was fully aware of the situation and faced the looming, inevitable collapse with a soldier's attitude, but also with harshness.

We were both convinced, not only from information received from higher military command posts, that fighting was taking place in Munich and that this would mean the end for us. It was only in the last days of April that our attitude changed when it became clear that Kesselring was going to encircle the city of Munich. excluded from the ordered "delaying resistance against the Western enemies." In addition, my brother was assigned to Kesselring's headquarters by order of Adolf Hitler.
He had been assigned as defense commissioner for the Army Group South. The order affected not only his district of Munich/Upper Bavaria, but also other districts such as Tyrol, Salzburg, and Upper Danube.
We listened with great tension to all the reports that reached us from the command center in Berlin. Sometimes they seemed trivial, such as "Where is Speer?" That came via Bormann's broadcast to all Gau leaders on April 22. I thought back to the events after July 20 and said, "That too." My brother replied, "After everything we've been through, nothing surprises me anymore." Strange, those were almost the exact words Bormann had used back then. But two days later, a terse message came over the radio: "Question about Speer? Return. Bormann."
On April 27, I was in Sonthofen to fetch my wife and youngest son and bring them to Munich; we wanted to spend our last days together. We drove through the mountains at night because the direct roads were already occupied by the enemy. I noticed that there were no air raid sirens during the night and no low-flying aircraft during the day. And strangely, the roads outside Munich were occupied by military units that strictly controlled everything coming out of the city. I found out what this meant at my brother's command post. He told me:
"The nightmare is over! An interpreter company hidden by the military district under the leadership of a captain named Gernegroß staged a coup. The whole thing was called 'Freedom Action Bavaria' (FAB) and included several small groups that called themselves '07' after the military district, as well as the communist underground. Everything was in perfect harmony, from the kingmakers to the communists. What's more, they were in contact with the Americans, they even freed prisoners of war, stirred up trouble, carried out sabotage, and called for mutiny and open treason. Last night, this clique, led by Gerngroß, sprang into action, believing their hour had come. They occupied the news center and military telephone exchange in Kempfenhausen. By pretending to be changing guards, they took control of the Freimann and Erding radio stations. At the same time, they had deployed "shock troops." The plan was to...
In Pullach, they were supposed to arrest Kesselring's chief of staff and take out the army group's command center. They ran into the SS, but they didn't want anything to do with them, so they politely backed off.

In the early hours of the morning, another "shock troop" appeared, led by a Lieutenant Putz. He was supposed to arrest me, but he wanted more. He boasted that he would liquidate me and hang me from the window on Ludwigstraße. Then these idiots wanted to "seize power," bring the Americans into Munich, and make peace—like in a fairy tale!

After just one hand grenade, the nightmare was over. They left their weapons and machine guns behind, along with some of their followers—I wouldn't call them men or soldiers. They told us the details, names like Gerngroß, Putz, and others, as well as the context.

Then, early in the morning, this Gerngroß started inciting people over the radio. Using the code word "pheasant hunt," he announced the uprising on behalf of the Bavarian Freedom Action. Of course, they had "won" the government and now they wanted to mercilessly eradicate National Socialism.

What concerns me is Gerngroß's assertion that Reich Governor Ritter von Epp was on the "battlefield" of the Bavarian Freedom Action. I would like to doubt whether a "command post" of this group of traitors ever existed, but the treasonous activities, the turmoil caused by the reactionaries and the communists, are spreading; wherever they come to light, they are being dealt with ruthlessly. Those who triggered all this have disappeared. The clever ones, the self-important ones, are disappearing, defecting to the enemy, while the stupid ones, the ones who were stirred up, are falling victim to the harsh laws of war.

General Hübner is trying to find out more, including the extent to which command posts of the 7th Military District were drawn into the maelstrom of the uprising.

He has been here in Munich since this morning, as if drawn by the betrayal that has taken place.

General Hübner was accompanied by several officers and made an energetic impression. My brother knew him. The general explained that he was authorized to set up a court martial to judge the traitorous clique in Military District VII. At the same time, he explained that he had been appointed combat commander for Munich by Field Marshal Kesselring.

My brother discussed with General Hübner the necessary measures resulting from the revolt. "Here, read this in the meantime," said my brother, handing me a stack of forms and reports. "These are the records of the nonsense that this pompous fool brought about the Senate , and this is what I was able to say an hour ago to clarify the situation. The freedom activists quickly left the station when they heard that the SS was on its way."

I read the "Attention, Attention" nonsense, as my brother had called it—it really was nothing more than that. I hope it's recorded somewhere, so that

to one day mark the level that Gerngroß and his comrades-in-arms aspired to, with which they wanted to make history*. I remember phrases such as "government power won through struggle" and "all magazines open for access" – which sounded better than the intended call to looting – and then there was this reference to Ritter von Epp, as if he had given his blessing to this act of betrayal. Gernegroß then announced a kind of government program, which included "merciless extermination," which they had probably taken from Adolf Hitler, and—this too had to be included—the elimination of militarism.

the elimination of militarism. And this in agreement with Reich Governor Ritter von Epp? I asked myself—I couldn't imagine it.

The whole thing was then broadcast in English; after all, what else were the interpreters there for? Obviously, this was intended to appeal to the American divisions stationed outside Munich. I thought I could hear the Homeric laughter that Gerngroß had provoked with his broadcast in English. The effect on the deeply depressed troops seemed terrible to me. I doubted whether the soldiers would still carry out the "resistance by delay," or whether they would even understand the point of this measure at all. F.A. Six inquired further:

So at that time, at the end of April, in the south of the Reich,

'delaying resistance against the Western enemies' being practiced in the south of the Reich at that time, at the end of April? Was this official or tacit, and what justification was given for it, for example to your brother as Gauleiter and Reich Defense Commissioner?

It was not officially announced. In the situation at that time, this delaying resistance was the only thing that could still be attempted and carried out with any prospect of success: it was necessary to gain time to enable the units in the east and southeast, as well as the Germans in the Sudetenland, to retreat to the west, and above all to keep the space free for them to do so. That was the goal, and every day, every hour counted.

I already told you that my brother was completely clear about the situation:

"To hold the eastern front so that as many Germans as possible—soldiers and civilians—can escape Bolshevism and reach the relative safety of the West—that is the task of Army Group South, as I see it. And I see it as my task to support them in this as Reich Defense Commissioner."

"That's interesting," said Six, "and Captain Gerngroß wanted to capitulate to this strategic concept with his coup—did he even know what all this could have led to?

I doubt it. With what they were trying to do, they thwarted the Wehrmacht's last strategic measure to prevent as many people as possible from falling into the hands of the Bolsheviks.

access of the Bolsheviks. And I also doubt that they considered the disaster they would cause by calling for revolt – and the disaster they brought upon those who followed their call and were unable to go into hiding in time, as the initiators of the revolt did.

In my brother's command post, after reading the appeals, various reports, and the initial findings of the investigation, I overheard a conversation between my brother and General Hübner: 'Whether true or false, Gerngroß has linked Reich Governor Ritter von Epp to the treasonous events, and that will not be without consequences, General. This must be carefully investigated and reported to the Führer—I cannot imagine that a Reich Governor would betray Adolf Hitler.

But even if all that is nonsense, which I assume is the case with Epp, whatever we do about it, we are too late. The news has been broadcast, and the truth is being covered up by mistrust.

A lieutenant colonel with his adjutant and a civilian, the mayor of Penzberg, appeared in the command post. The lieutenant colonel, commander of a missile regiment, reported that, prompted by the broadcasts of the Bavarian Freedom Action, riots and mutiny had broken out in his combat group's sector around Penzberg. FAB supporters and opponents of National Socialism had occupied the town hall, freed prisoners of war from camps, made contact with the enemy, obstructed the combat group, and called for mutiny. The American forces had shown no activity during these events, a sure sign that they had been informed of the revolt. This had also been confirmed by interrogations. These events were undisputedly high treason and treason against the state.

"To secure the troops, I felt compelled to impose martial law," the commander concluded. "A court martial was convened, and the seven leaders of the revolt and treason were sentenced to death."

My brother replied: "Lieutenant Colonel, as the combat commander responsible for your section, you are required by martial law to make all decisions. This also gives you the right to set up courts-martial if the safety of your troops demands it and the enforcement of your orders requires it. You also have the right to have the sentences of the court-martial carried out. I take note of your report."

In response to the mayor's concerns, a Wehrwolf company was to take over the security of Penzberg against a possible uprising by former communists who were now becoming active. Corresponding instructions were apparently issued to Zöberlein, who was in charge of the Wehrwolf.

I intervened: "Trials are currently taking place in Penzberg and elsewhere against Lieutenant Colonel Ohm and his officers, as well as against Wehrwolf leader Hans Zöberlein. And in Munich, Major Salisco, who commanded the Munich Volkssturm, is under indictment. This is what our China men told me, who have the opportunity to read American army newspapers in the prison administration.

They told me that the lieutenant colonel is being charged with the court-martial proceedings in Penzberg and the sentences carried out by the troops, that Zöberlein arbitrarily 'liquidated anti-fascists' without trial, and that Major Salisco, on the orders of the Gauleiter, had an upright officer named Carraciola executed by a Volkssturm firing squad.

The race car driver Carraciola? Six interrupted me.

No, a major, he was adjutant to Reich Governor Ritter von Epp and was involved with the 'Freedom Action Bavaria' – more on that later. In all the proceedings, my brother is named as the person responsible.

In the case of the lieutenant colonel, it was a court martial, and the sentences were confirmed by the army group for execution. Major Carraciola was sentenced by General Hübner's court martial. Hübner was authorized to do so as chairman of the Western Court Martial, which was established after the Remagen bridge disaster. This major had to know—like the Gerngroß officers, who were lawyers in their civilian professions—what they were responsible for in calling for revolt and treason and actively participating in it while martial law was in force.

I am not in a position to judge the actions of Zöberlein and the Wehrwolf unit, with or without orders; I do not know what happened there, or to what extent there was cause for such drastic measures. I can only imagine that some of those who, faced with imminent defeat, lashed out in turmoil and betrayal, were provoked by the turbulence of the time and will be condemned in times of reflection.

All those who acted according to martial law at the time, who stood by their oath, will certainly be brought to trial. We saw it in Nuremberg and Dachau, and we will see it again, now in German courts, said Six. Continue with your account of the last days in Munich.

Immediately after the combat commander from Penzberg, Waffen-SS General Simon* reported, a broad-shouldered giant with a hard, angular face. He gave a report on the course of the front and the deployment of his units in the north of Munich. The Americans had managed to cross the Isar River at Moosburg and gain ground. His weakened troops were under threat from the flank, and an encirclement of Munich from the northeast was looming.

Then Simon said, "Gauleiter, you've dealt with the traitors who started the riot to make themselves look important all by yourself—they want to

earn a golden pint from the Americans. After the radio appeals from that Gerngroß, I was about to send a combat group into action. Those traitors and their followers would have gotten a nasty surprise,
and it would have been a satisfaction for us to finish off this clique! Then I heard your speech on the radio and held back the combat group.
A report came in: in the south of Munich, near Tölz,
the Americans had advanced to the Isar. And a little later: They have formed a bridgehead on the east side. A complete encirclement of Munich was looming.
The question arose as to whether serious resistance in Munich still made any sense in this situation. General Simon did not think so; he believed that, with Munich left out, the fighting would continue to be a delaying action until the Alpine fortress was reached, in order to keep the troops in the east and southeast covered for as long as possible.
There was that term "Alpine fortress" again. I said, "But that includes
only to understand the natural mountain formations, which are easier to defend—because there are no fortifications to speak of. Even on the Obersalzberg, there are no fortifications except for the air-raid tunnel system that I built on the Berghof grounds. The Alpine fortress is nothing more than a magnificent setting in which to go down with dignity. 'I had expected more,' said the general.
Further telephone calls with the chief of staff of the Army Group, General Westphal, and then, with great difficulty, directly with Field Marshal Kesselring, who was mostly on the eastern and southern fronts, revealed that Munich would not be defended.
"That's certainly better for the city," my brother said. But we were both connected to Munich, we should defend ourselves here and meet our end. However, things took a different turn.
The court martial
General Hübner came and reported to my brother on his investigations. According to him, Gerngroß, together with activists from the "Freedom Action Bavaria" and resistance fighters from a group called "Org 7," had succeeded in drawing Reich Governor Ritter von Epp into their treacherous game. Their liaison was Epp's adjutant, Major Carraciola. He, Hübner, had ordered the arrest of Epps and his adjutant.
So you also want to include Ritter von Epp in the court martial proceedings and have him sentenced? Yes. And this is a military measure, without the involvement of a political figure and

therefore also outside my authority as Reich Defense Commissioner? I would like to see your powers of attorney, General.
My brother carefully read General Hübner's special powers of attorney and then returned them silently. The court martial, presided over by General Hübner, convened in the rooms above the command post in the Central Ministry on Ludwigsstraße.
In the meantime, I had been in discussions about the deployment of my staff on the final emergency construction and security measures. When I returned to my brother's command post, I witnessed a heated argument. The court martial had meanwhile sentenced Ritter von Epp and his adjutant, Major Carraciola, to death. My brother did not argue with General
Hübner, saying, "I don't have time. I will now decide what is to happen. Have Ritter von Epp brought to my command post." This was done.
Mr. Reich Governor Ritter von Epp! The court martial presided over by General Hübner has sentenced you to death. The court martial has exceeded its authority and powers. The court martial should have been assigned a political figure, because you are not a military figure—even though you hold the rank of general from World War I. As Reich Governor of Bavaria, you are a purely political figure and report directly to the Führer. He alone has the power to decide. He will appreciate that you are one of his followers, and he will not forget that you and your Freikorps crushed the communist regime in Bavaria in 1919. I guarantee your personal safety until the Führer has made his decision."
Ritter von Epp looked intently at my brother, his face serious and impassive. He did not say a word.
General Hübner objected. My brother waved him away, led Epp out of the central room into an adjoining room of the command post, and had him shielded by an SA adjutant. General Hübner protested again and insisted on the execution of the sentences. My brother agreed without hesitation to the court-martial's verdict on Carracciola. The major had allowed his aversion to National Socialism to lead him to high treason and treason against the state.
. He had even involved his boss, the Reich Governor of Bavaria, in his destructive web. A Volkssturm firing squad was ordered to carry out the sentence.
to carry out the sentence.
"I was forced to act quickly," my brother said to me,
because according to the powers of attorney, the judgment and execution were up to the general. But I think that even though he protested, he was glad that I stepped in and took responsibility for Ritter von Epp. I removed the Bavarian governor—and this will justify me—from the hysteria of the court martial.

The verdict is to be understood as the result and aftermath of what we are all exposed to in these days and nights. But the verdict does not do justice to this man. I cannot allow him to be executed. Nor can I allow Ritter von Epp to be associated with treason. I believe, rather, that this clique has attempted—and this is Carraciola's fault—to legitimize and popularize their revolt, their treason, with the name "Ritter von Epp." Ritter von Epp is a symbolic figure for many Bavarians. Certainly, attempts were made to sway the old man with the argument: You saved Bavaria once with the Freikorps—do it again now with the Bavarian Freedom Action. He initially fell for the foolish chatter of his confidant Carraciola, but when confronted with the actual betrayal, he refused to participate.

I would be blamed long after my death if I had not saved him from execution: My brother sent messages by telex to Berlin and simultaneously to the Obersalzberg news center. No replies and, above all, no decision from the Führer came back. The tension around and within Munich grew. My brother telephoned the Gauleiter of Salzburg, Dr. Scheel. He briefly described the situation to him: There is danger here for Ritter von Epp. I have vouched for his safety, Scheel, please do the same. Under the protection of a police colonel, Ritter von Epp will drive to you*:

The Munich bridges

Fiehler, the mayor of Munich, arrived breathless at the command post with Professor Stecher, the head of the city's civil engineering department. Stecher was a man of integrity, a great expert, and the clearest head in the city's building authority. I had gotten to know him through our work together and held him in high esteem.

Stecher reported that a pioneer unit of the Wehrmacht had blown up Munich's northern railway bridge. Ironically, this was the very bridge under which Gerngroß had set up his revolt headquarters. Stecher continued excitedly:

"On the orders of Field Marshal Kesselring, all the bridges over the Isar in Munich are to be blown up—that can't be true!" And, probably exaggerating a little, he added: "That's the death of the city of Munich!" Fiehler agreed with Stecher's assessment.

"That will not happen without examining the necessity and without my express consent," was my brother's response. He immediately had

immediately have all the bridges occupied by Volkssturm units, whose leaders he gave precise orders to secure the bridges.
Together with Stecher, I informed my brother, as far as was necessary, about the importance of the bridges: blowing them up would cut off the water supply to the districts and suburbs west of the Isar. In addition, the bridges were of great technical and artistic value.
"Don't talk so much—I know that myself—I'm just wondering what sense these demolitions would make if the American divisions have already advanced north and south of Munich across the Isar! I'm not in favor of pure destruction without any military necessity, which only harms the civilian population."
The phone calls with the chief of staff of the army group and the general of the engineers continued unabated. First, my brother demanded precise information about the front line, the situation, the defensive forces, and the decisions made by the army group in the Munich-Upper Bavaria region and the city of Munich. He was told:
The Americans have advanced with strong infantry and tank units north north of Munich and in the south near Tölz across the Isar and have begun to encircle Munich to the east as well. Three divisions will attack Munich head-on from the west, which is why the field marshal has ordered the demolition of all bridges in Munich.
"And why? Are you planning to put up resistance on the east bank of the Isar in Munich? Are you going to fight there?"
"No, we don't have the strength, and it would be pointless because the combat group would soon be surrounded on all sides."
"Then blowing up the bridges is just as pointless." My brother's voice became sharp: "General! You are not talking to the Gauleiter of Munich, but to the Reich Defense Commissioner appointed by the Führer for the entire area of the Commander-in-Chief South, and I will not tolerate senseless destruction! The field marshal is to withdraw his demolition order! You can reach him by wire or radio! Then please arrange for him to call me. Take note: I have had all the Munich bridges occupied by Volkssturm units; your demolition squads will not get to the bridges!'
There was another telephone scuffle later, this time with Kesselring himself, who called from somewhere. He referred to the Führer's orders, to the Remagen case—the chairman of the Remagen court martial, General Hübner, was currently in Munich and had been appointed by him as combat commander—in short, he, Kesselring, was responsible. My brother then said to Kesselring:
"Field Marshal, you yourself excluded Munich as a combat zone—

so I am responsible here. I am personally responsible for maintaining the bridges. I take full responsibility, and with me my brother as Munich's chief building officer. "Well, if you tell me that you will enforce the demolitions by force if necessary, then I can assure you that you will also blow up my Volkssturm men along with the bridges, and me along with them on the Prinzregenten Bridge!" Finally, a statement was drafted: "The Gauleiter of Munich-Upper Bavaria, in his capacity as Reich Defense Commissioner in the
the area of the Commander-in-Chief South and the Chief Building Officer of Munich jointly assume full responsibility for ensuring that the Munich bridges are not blown up," "in view of the military situation and the fact that the east bank of the Isar is not being defended," my brother added.
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After further protests, Kesselring finally gave in. When my brother asked him, he confirmed that serious resistance was now only possible in the "Alpine fortress." He added: "Decisions have to be made here that I do not want to make without you, as the Reich Defense Commissioner. I expect you at my headquarters as soon as possible."
To make it difficult for American forces to cross the bridges quickly, my brother ordered roadblocks to be set up. Then, in the late afternoon of April 29, we left Munich in my car. We first drove to the General of the Pioneers in Rosenheim—only side roads were free of enemy forces beyond Munich—to prevent the demolition of the Mangfall Bridge over the Autobahn. We arrived too late.
Munich owes the preservation of all its city bridges not only to the passionate appeal of the director of public works, Professor Stecher, but also to my brother, who, through his energetic manner, was able to prevail over the commander-in-chief of the southern zone, Field Marshal Kesselring.
That night, I talked with my brother for a long time. He said to me, "You know what we can expect from the Americans. They are ruthlessly shooting captured German soldiers as they advance—this has been reported to me repeatedly by military sources. And I also learned that during the victorious liberation of Dachau, the Americans "liberated" the SS military hospital at the same time—without
hesitation beating or shooting the wounded and disabled along with the doctors—entirely in keeping with Roosevelt's slogan:
"Forward, Christian soldiers—Amen."
Now, here in Landsberg, I was reminded of my brother's remark a few months ago, but more about that later.
During the night of May 1, the news reached us in Traunstein: The Führer is dead! A world collapsed for us!
My brother relieved all the followers in his district of their duties, as far as he could

he could gather in Traunstein: "We have lost the war—and with Adolf Hitler, we have also lost our Germany. Therefore, I personally consider any further resistance that would cause suffering to the population to be problematic. It is also clear that the armed forces will no longer fight against the Western Allies. However, the fight against the Bolsheviks will continue in the remaining Ostmark districts. Each of you must make your own decision... I will neither leave my district nor allow myself to be captured."

In the late afternoon, we brothers were in Berchtesgaden. Kesselring had meanwhile moved his headquarters to Zell am See. My brother said:

"I should have sought death in Munich – now it will be here. Do me one last service: deliver these secret files to Kesselring or his political representative. If you can't get through, burn everything in good time."

Today I believe that this assignment was just a pretext. My brother said goodbye: "At least try to survive, for the sake of your wife and sons."

That night, I drove to Zell am See—my brother and his wife had taken their own lives. A memory came to mind: the work of an ancient sculptor in the Roman museum at the Baths of Diocletian.

A Gaul who kills his wife and himself to escape captivity. This sculpture had made a deep impression on me. What a cruel time, I thought at the time, to choose death to escape something worse!

The worse touched me later, after the rough treatment in prisons and camps, and especially in the interrogation bunker in Dachau, before I was put on a shameless war crimes trial.

An interrogator, an emigrant and new American in a CIC uniform, said to me during a break in the interrogation: "We were after your brother. When we couldn't find him alive, we had him dug up in Berchtesgaden. We wanted to be sure it was really him. It was him—and now I have his so-called medals, his 'Iron Crosses' and his 'Honorary Awards'!" I had no choice but to look through this disgusting corpse-plunderer as if he didn't exist.

This fits in with what happened here a few months ago, which reminded me of my brother's remark, as I already mentioned. One day, the former Dachau concentration camp kapos were brought through the prison gates for interrogation, searched from head to toe. One of them, Emil, Emil Mahl, told me about it. His soft Mannheim dialect added to the macabre nature of his account:

"Auerbach and Ohrenstein were there, along with some snoops from the service and a few from the government and the CIC, and the press was there too – and from 'us,' the provost marshal."

"What was it about?" I asked him.
"There was a newspaper on the table with a big headline: 'Mass grave discovered in Dachau concentration camp,' and they wanted to know exactly what kind of newly discovered atrocity the SS had committed this time.
They had a map of the entire camp and photos of what
they had dug up there, and then the questioning started. No, I said, it does have something to do with the SS, but it's the other way around, not like
you think—it was the Americans. The mass grave contains the bodies of SS soldiers from the military hospital.
When the Americans liberated the Dachau concentration camp, they also cleaned up the infirmary—they shot anyone who could walk and beat anyone who couldn't walk to death in their beds—everyone, including the doctors, the nurses, and the sick—because they believed they were under the protection of the Red Cross – but the Americans didn't give a damn, they were full of the urge to act!
At first, they didn't want to believe me, they were completely outraged, saying that our Americans wouldn't do such a thing. But I said I had to know for sure, I was the dead man's kapo. Emil grinned: 'They must have been pulling faces!'
Yes, Emil Mahl is absolutely competent in this matter; he had to deal with the dead and, as he said, was in charge of the crematorium at Dachau concentration camp at the time.
'I only had two ovens,' he said once, 'now it's all different, the Americans had it fixed up so that it looks like something. No, no, we were modest back then!'
To tease Emil, I interjected, "But Niemöller—what did he say?"
"Oh," said Emil, "he's just showing off, that fool—none of it's true!"
So much for Emil Mahl. But there was no further mention of the newly discovered mass grave at Dachau concentration camp, as our China Men reported.

Memories of Linz

Lazy fur and Villa Bergius in Heidelberg

I don't know what kind of experiences you had at CIC headquarters, but for me, every "interrogation" was more than strange. Six looked at me expectantly. I described:

I spent the night in the Heidelberg city prison, Fauler Pelz, and the room where I slept had a vaulted ceiling, a carcere, probably dating back to Perkeo's time. I lay between half a dozen career criminals and didn't dare take off my shoes during the night. Only later was I transferred to a single cell and able to sleep on the bunk without putting my hands in my pockets.

At around 10 a.m., I was regularly driven to Villa Bergius in a green police van or handcuffed in a jeep and taken to the basement there. By around 11 a.m., the arrogant interrogators had recovered enough from their nighttime exertions to begin the "interrogations." No matter who I was brought before, it always began with: "Take off your clothes, take off your shirt, arms up." They were looking for the blood type tattoo. I would like to tell you about one of these interrogations. The one who had me that day was an American Jewish Swede or a Swedish Jew in a CIC uniform—there must be differences in rank*.

After searching in vain with a magnifying glass for possible remnants of the blood group tattoo, he stated convincingly: 'You're Ass Ass!' I didn't answer, so he said: 'Just one hour as Ass Ass – that's already too much!' I remained silent. After a while, which was probably intended to wear me down: 'If
not ass-ass, what profession then?"

That was something new, and I said, 'Architect.'

"Hahaha," came from deep down inside him, "we know better than that, we know everything," as he tapped on a file. "I've come to America from Sweden, and I want to hear Swedish architects' names as proof."

Now I was enjoying myself. "Ragnar Ostberg," I said, "and his famous townhouse in Stockholm—Asplund, his library, and the Skandia Theater—Ivar Tengbom and his concert hall."

Then he started laughing again and said, "Good, good—very quick and quick-witted—the names sound like real Swedish names—but I'm hearing them for the first time—hahaha, hahaha!" I thought, "89

to myself, it's probably certain that he didn't sell sewer pipes to any of them, who knows what and to whom.

But in the evening, in my cell in the "Faulen Pelz," my thoughts were with the town house—no, not Ragnar Ostberg's in Stockholm, but rather Adolf Hitler's town house in Linz-Urfahr. Certainly, back then in my conversations with him, and now after the Bergius interrogation, I was struck by the work of the architect Ragnar Ostberg.

F.A. Six grabbed me by the arm and said: "If what you have to report leads us back to Adolf Hitler and helps to reveal something about his plans and his character, then that is more important to me than all the bells and whistles and all your grotesque stories. Of course, I like hearing those too, if only to have a laugh. But what is important is the image of Adolf Hitler, which gains contour and color through each of your reports. Tell us about Adolf Hitler's townhouse in Linz!

The town house for the citizens of Linz

So I began: When Adolf Hitler first introduced me to my new task of "Danube bank development" in Linz in the fall of 1940 in Linz in the fall of 1940 to take up my new position in the "Danube embankment development," I was very surprised at the determination and deliberation with which he had chosen the locations for the buildings. From the Nibelungen Bridge, we looked toward the Urfahr side of the Danube. Adolf Hitler explained to me his ideas about the relationships between the buildings and the spaces between them. He said:

"I consider it an advantage that the road axis extending from the bridge is not strictly aligned with the Pöstlingberg. If it were otherwise, it would not correspond to the character of the landscape and the city, which have no major sightlines. With the exception of the 'Lauben' – as Adolf Hitler briefly described the planned new Laubenstraße, which will lead from the old town to the railway station and have sensible axial references on both sides – I do not want to build any other axial structures in Linz.

old town to the railway station and have sensible axial references on both sides, I do not want to build any other axial relationships in Linz.
The Danube and its banks, now the main elements of the new city form, are curved in alternating concave and convex patterns. This is why a rhythmic
This corresponds on both sides to the extremely lively flow of the river.
In a north-south direction, the old main square of Linz is narrow and perpendicular to the Danube. However, across this bridge, the new be built in a wide arc opposite the course of the river. In order for them to be perceived in accordance with the urban standards applicable here, they should be subdivided and accentuated by groups of buildings, enclosed on three sides and open towards the river. In this way, the lively element of the river will be incorporated into the new square spaces."
This is what Adolf Hitler said. To make it easier to understand, I took a stone and drew the situation in the sandy path of the prison yard: the Nibelungen Bridge and the outline of the riverbank on the
, I took a stone and drew the situation in the sandy path of the prison yard: the Nibelungen Bridge and the outline of the riverbank on the Urfahr side.
Downstream, here, where the bank curved convexly toward the river, the spatial composition was to be completed by the community hall. I drew the planned dominant building perpendicular to the course of the river, and next to it, toward the square, free like a campanile, the "Tower on the Danube."
The forecourt of the Nibelungen Bridge led from the recessed Reichsstatthalter building to the right, downstream, to a spacious terrace. This in turn led to the spacious main square on the Urfahr side. The square has a trapezoidal shape due to the side buildings running perpendicular to the river. The surrounding stepped terraces emphasize this basic shape and connect the buildings horizontally.
Now, as if anchored to the square, this tower stands on the Danube, with Bruckner's glockenspiel motif. Even from this brief description, you can see that all I really need to do is understand what Adolf Hitler had in mind and, as it later turned out, what he had laid out in floor plans and facade sketches.
What about the town house? My friend interrupted me impatiently. Wait, I said, first I have to describe the situation as a whole. First of all, the town house is the dominant building on the Danube on the Urfahr side, seen from the bridge upstream. I drew the outline in the sand on the path.
Its front faces the Danube and extends to the old towpath, the substructures of the building connecting with the granite embankment walls. A square space is created to the side, giving the townhouse

not only distance from traffic, but also distance and dignity from the bridge and the street. I designed a column for this square, unconventionally located and crowned with the planetary symbols dedicated to Johannes Kepler, who taught in Linz for twelve years.
I also planned a horizontal fountain in honor of Adalbert Stifter, with a quote from one of his nature descriptions.
The contrasting contours—vertical versus horizontal—were also to be reflected in the structures that defined the square. The plan therefore envisaged a 14-story high-rise building on the north side of the square, with an energetic outline and sculptural yet edgy architectural elements designed to give the high-rise the strength to stand up to the horizontal line of the bridge. A recessed arch gallery was intended to connect the tall vertical lines of the building with the stacked cube of the town hall.
I drew this townhouse based on Adolf Hitler's ideas and sketches.
It had the basic shape of the farms that surround Linz. These are square quadrangles, each forming a self-contained building unit with an inner courtyard. And all these residences lie in the middle of their fields like farm castles. From the outset, all of Adolf Hitler's sketches for the townhouse had a square floor plan, and all had a large inner courtyard, but not open, rather leading through the floors as a high space, closed off by a coffered ceiling. The walls around it were designed as
pergola galleries supported by pillars over which Roman arches were spanned. The pillars were refined into columns on the two upper floors.
An early model was certainly the magnificent, albeit open, courtyard in the 'country house' in Linz, which was built during the era of the 'estates' in the 16th century.
A basilica-style daylighting system was planned for the upper gallery, made possible on all sides by the inner attic floor. This indirect lighting was also used for the evening lighting, which was thus comparable to illumination, but without glare.
Adolf Hitler planned a staircase for this high-ceilinged space which, as in the Führer's headquarters in Munich, connected only the ground floor with the emphatically representative upper floor. The stairwells in the side wings served to connect the other floors.
I could imagine the considerations and models that had inspired this staircase design. In my studio, he drew three different arrangements and systems, and I know of others in the Führer's headquarters in Winniza. I collected as many of the sketches as I could and kept them in a safe—who knows what became of them? Even in his youth, staircases were clearly important to him.

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Sketch by Adolf Hitler: Floor plan of the Linz City Hall, with the newly entered room dimensions 18 ? 42 ? 18 meters. Above it, a sketch of the façade facing the Danube. He sketched it on the train on a trip to Berlin. 93

I think of St. Florian, of the Kaiserstiege in Göttweig. Added to this were his architectural experiences in Vienna with the staircases of Prandtauer, Fischer von Erlach, and Hildebrandt.
Once he mentioned – and I was amazed – the staircase in Ragnar Ostberg's "Blue Hall"; he had studied the plans and photographs of the Stockholm city hall in detail. He described it as a romantic building of great craftsmanship, imaginative, yet austere, well suited to the city of Stockholm and of lasting artistic value.
Adolf Hitler had sketched facades for the Linz City Hall that were strangely distinctive. When the most striking of these sketches was recorded and transferred to a model, the cubic structure emerged with the utmost clarity of form. Something about the overall structure was reminiscent of Lentia, the Roman foundation of Linz, of the castles of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius along the Danube, of the Carolingian era, of imperial palaces, - and
But the building was a modern townhouse, the best architectural representation of the urban community of Linz.
I can only describe the building by drawing it at the same time,
– here, the gate of the "Motorshop" is suitable for this. We went to the prison workshops, and I drew the facade of the cubic building facing the Danube on the smooth gate wall with a pencil.
Only in the upper part, under the cornice, is there a row of deeply cut light openings, which break up the strict cube towards the top. Otherwise, it persists in a tectonic unity of wall surfaces. Then, a two-story structure protrudes five meters from the tall three-story cube. This results in two staggered facades that complement each other. The projecting façade has a five-axis reception gallery on the ground floor, above which, on the upper floor, there is a seven-axis loggia of Roman proportions, the two outer loggias of which serve as spatial elements to connect the interior with the halls.
I repeat: this is a facade of great individuality. Certainly, a two-story loggia projecting from a tall building can also be seen on the Vienna Opera House, but it is far too convoluted: it lacks clarity of form. Thus, Adolf Hitler's design for the city hall in Linz stands alone.
The loggia façade dominated the cube, which measured approximately 80 by 80 meters. When I then assembled the individual structures around the square at the Nibelungen Bridge in the model, a discrepancy in scale between the townhouse and the high-rise became apparent. It turned out that the succession of ten office floors, each three meters high, resulted in a soulless, even stupid grid.

The high-rise lacked the grand sweep that characterized the town hall. Even the powerful ground floor and the multifaceted attic structure could not compensate for this. In the central axis of the building, I therefore combined two floors with light arbors for the inner hall with the staircase, thus achieving a sense of scale.
I presented Adolf Hitler with a partial model of the buildings around the square—with the town hall, the Reich Governor's building, and the modified high-rise with the arcade risalit that I had designed. And I referred to the Ducale in Urbino, whose west side echoes the motif of the loggias one above the other. Adolf Hitler wanted to see a picture of the Ducale
and said:
"This architectural form corresponds perfectly to the Duke and his time, and the form you have created here is the expression of a building concept of our time.'
He repeated the view he had already expressed to me in an earlier conversation:
"Why shouldn't we use the words of architecture
that have been handed down to us for thousands of years in connection with materials? It is up to us to form new sentences from them that are valid in our time. What matters is the idea behind the building and its implementation; the materials and technology are there to serve this purpose—not the other way around." He pointed to the pillars and arches of the arcades and loggias.
I have probably reported too much on the town hall from an architect's point of view—according to Adolf Hitler's wishes, it was to be the house of the citizens of Linz. For it was they and the mayor who were to represent the city, not the Reich Governor and Gauleiter of the party.
I understood him in this respect. On the occasion of the launch of the Bismarck, I accompanied him to a reception given by the mayor of Hamburg.
That experience was essential for me to be able to design rooms for such events, wherever they might be.
The necessary city administration structure with its numerous offices
for the administration and services of the city was to be built as an independent group of buildings, as a "technical town hall," adjacent to the town hall upstream.
However, Adolf Hitler wanted one function removed from this town hall and administrative district: the registry office. It should be located in the northern part of the town hall, he told me, with access via the large hall with the staircase.
He even made efforts to ensure that motorboats could moor on the river side of the town house. He spoke of the loggias that would offer the people of Linz and their guests the most beautiful view of the Danube, the city, and the Freinberg. The rear walls would provide painters with surfaces for mosaic designs.
In one of his floor plan sketches, which I still have in front of me, he wrote

the dimensions for the reception rooms: 18 x 18 meters, then the large room measuring 18 x 42 meters, in front of it the loggias facing the river, and again 18 x 18 meters.

Then, after the passageways, came the council and banquet halls. On the Pöstlingberg side, the registry office with the archive rooms and the wedding hall were planned.

He also thought about the council silver. At my suggestion, the gold and silversmith Professor Leute in Berlin was commissioned to design it. As early as 1941, I presented Adolf Hitler Lettres with magnificent drawings. The decorative ornaments for all parts of the council and table silver were variations on the acanthus leaf.

The Danube embankment development

And then I see him—I will always remember this—when I showed him the Linz model in the basement of the Reich Chancellery in February 1945. How he must have felt; today I wonder: did I make him

Was this my last joy, or was I only deepening the pain that all the efforts for Germany, for the achievement of its goals, that all the sacrifices had been in vain? No matter what time of day or night, as soon as he had the opportunity during those weeks, he sat in front of the model. I expected him to give me hints and suggestions, I asked for criticism and said that the model conveyed the scope of the construction task, but also gave an idea of the responsibility involved in designing it all. For me, the model was the basis for careful review, enabling me to detect errors—but before I could continue, Adolf Hitler waved me away as if it were all meaningless. He did not want to be disturbed, and his gaze remained fixed on the model.

He lingered longest on the left bank of the river, looking at the development of the Urfahr district. In keeping with the position of the sun, the model was illuminated by spotlights, allowing the buildings and the spaces they formed to come together as the overall structure of his vision.

Nothing stood alone, nothing was self-referential; the buildings blended together, forming architectural chords and intervals.

From the spot Adolf Hitler preferred to view the model, he had the best view of the river's concave-convex course as it was framed by the buildings. From the Linz side, he saw the facades of the building complex illuminated as if by the sun. It began upstream with the Adolf Hitler School on Spatzenberg, which slopes steeply down to the Danube.

In the still narrow Danube valley, the guest houses of the industry and steelworks followed, with terraces facing the river. This location was well thought out, not only in the material sense of the financially strong builder: the Danube connects the guest houses with the industrial development on the banks of the Danube.

Donauufer development. View over the old town of Linz towards Urfahr.
From left: Technical Town Hall? Town Hall? High-rise building for the district? Reich Governor's Building - Square on the Danube with Gauleitung, Hall of the Volksgemeinschaft and tower on the Danube. In the foreground on the left is Adolf Hitler's retirement home.

Danube riverbank development, view towards Urfahr: Hall of the People's Community with tower – architectural gardens – galleries.
In front, the KdF high-rise hotel, followed by the "Basar."

Danube bank development, view of the Linz side towards the Technical University. In the foreground, galleries, exhibition halls, concert hall, and architectural gardens.

Detail of the model of the Technical University with the auditorium.

Strieanlagen far to the east. The special feature of the development on both sides of the Danube was that the riverbed was approximately 225 meters wide. This meant that the buildings remained manageable in size and traveling on the river between the buildings on the banks was an impressive experience. These two considerations ultimately determined the location of the industry guest houses.
As an elongated horizontal structure divided by risalits, the
The 'Technical Town Hall' was planned, then came the town hall – set back to the side, with the high-rise building in front of it and the square with the Nibelungen Bridge leading into the street system of Urfahr. This was followed by a rhythmic spatial structure formed by the buildings of the Reich Governor, the Gau leadership, and the Volksgemeinschaft (People's Community) hall. These buildings enclosed and defined the square, which opened up widely toward the river and was the ideal location for the "Tower on the Danube."
The sculptural hall building was followed by the architectural garnish
with the
far-set galleries, pavilions, which Adolf Hitler himself had designed, and exhibition halls. The architectural gardens, which lay flat to the riverbed, were also necessitated by hydraulic engineering reasons. According to Adolf Hitler's wishes, the slightly stepped terraces were to be planted with roses,
and oleander: the latter could be shielded from the winter cold, as is possible on the Sanssouci terraces.
A suspension bridge was to connect the gardens to the Linz side, thus opening up the gardens, exhibition halls, and galleries to the entire city. The gardens were enclosed by the side front of a concert hall, followed by buildings for institutes, the military museum, and finally the general headquarters.
A three-arch granite bridge reconnected the site with the Linz side. In connection with the eastern bridge forecourt on the Urfahr side, a tholos was planned, a domed building on all sides, designed by Wilhelm Kreis around 1912 as a Bismarck monument for Bingen. According to Adolf Hitler's wishes, this tholos was to be the energetic conclusion of the Danube embankment development and commemorate Bismarck and the birth of the Greater German Reich.
The Tholos was followed by the wide green spaces of the Steyregg Danube floodplains. Now the river turns to the southeast, with the
extensive floodplains, on the right-hand side, stretching for seven kilometers, the overwhelming industrial complex of the Reichswerke Hermann Göring with its blast furnaces, steelworks, and rolling mills.
According to Adolf Hitler, these works were to form the material basis for the cultural institutions of the city of Linz, for the theaters, the gallery, the museums, the library, the St. Florian Orchestra, the concert hall, and the planetarium on the Pöstlingberg, and much more.

The buildings along the river on the Linz side are very different from those on the "sunny side" of Urfahe. It is not only a deliberately sought-after statuary appearance of the buildings; they are also subject to the strictness of the austere, double-stepped building lines that follow the river. They are spatially determined and conditioned by the city's layout.

The Danube embankment begins with trees that, opposite the Tholos, shield the naval and water police harbor and lead to the granite arch bridge. Then begins the large building complex of the Technical University, which Adolf Hitler named and thus gave it a program: Technical University. It was built symmetrically towards the river, with the auditorium towering over it as a cubic mass.

Towards the rear, facing the industrial facilities, were the halls, laboratories, and research rooms, including the Institute of Metallurgy.

The next building planned was the headquarters of the European banks. Later, its location was determined to be near the gardens on the Urfahr side, in exchange for the institutes that were oriented toward the university.

The only building complex with a vertical orientation on the Linz side was the KdF Hotel*, a high-rise with 20 floors and

two thousand beds. The aim was to structure the building mass in such a way that it did not fall out of scale, and it was also important to avoid a uniform grid pattern on the facades so that the building would not appear as a "house with 1,000 windows." In short, this massive hotel had to find a design that corresponded to the dignity of the river and the surrounding buildings. A strict layout of the versatile room units of the hotel organization

. Rooms for general use were grouped around a courtyard, such as dining rooms with the necessary utility rooms. The top floor of the high-rise also served this overarching purpose. To break up the building mass, negative risalits were cut into the front and rear facades, into which the necessary, partly open stairwells of the facade were integrated.

The large building mass was thus divided into a manageable architectural form, avoiding the brutal monotony of a grid facade and emphasizing the vertical tendency.

During the summer months, the hotel was primarily intended for vacationers traveling by boat on the Danube from Passau to Vienna. The rest of the year, it was to serve as a large guesthouse for the German Labor Front, enabling broad participation by all working people in the cultural offerings that Linz would later be able to provide as a "city of the Reich." The hotel was also a prerequisite for the planned congresses and conferences.

The Danube ships had their landing stage here, a bus station provided local transport, and an underground railway connected the hotel complex directly to the planned new main railway station.

The next building complex upstream also served primarily the hotel guests, not only those of the KdF hotel, but also those of the Donauhotel, which followed and whose construction architect Roderich Fick had already begun before I was commissioned with the redesign of Linz.
This temporary construction site was called the "basar" and reflected the architectural standards of Linz's old town.
The Freinberg, which slopes steeply down to the old town and the Danube, is an important natural feature. It was here that the Romans built the fort with the settlement of Lentia, and in the Middle Ages there stood a modest imperial palace of Frederick III. Römerberg, Schloßberg, Freinberg—this is how the granite peak
of the western mountain range were called over the centuries. The castle fell into disrepair under the Habsburgs, and a fire did the rest. What remained was an unadorned, austere block.
I used to climb these rock faces in my youth. I would hang out on this hilltop, gazing out over the Danube and lost in thought. This is where
I want to spend my twilight years. Giesler, build me a retirement home on these rock faces!"
More about Linz
Franz Alfred Six had listened with great interest and expanded my report with questions. He then said that the political conditions at the end of the 19th century, but also the situation in the first decades of our century, whether under monarchy or the Weimar democracy, had provided no impetus for urban planning and had not set architects any tasks that went beyond the limits of expedient mediocrity.
I replied that neither the conservatives nor the liberals, and certainly not the Marxists, had transferred ideas, concepts, and impulses to spatial and urban planning, not even to its design. Democracy did not provide a breeding ground for great architecture, unless men of rank, such as Pericles in Athens, were able to assert themselves. For architecture, the language of stone, reveals in buildings the unified will of a community; in cathedrals and minsters, its religiosity; in castles,
castles, and palaces, the power and greatness, the glory of a personality, of a ruler.
Just one example: the fall of Napoleon III was also the end of Haussmann and ultimately a break in the continuity of urban development in Paris.
Apart from the development of the Danube embankments, what other construction projects and urban development measures were planned for Linz?
To report on everything would only be possible on the basis of a city map

Perhaps one could obtain one for some reason. For now, suffice it to say that in 1938, Linz had a population of around 100,000. Thanks to the new industrial initiatives and all other measures, the final population was expected to reach 300,000 to 350,000. This was the basis for all urban planning considerations for the future cityscape of Linz.

The broad-gauge railway would also have affected Linz, which would have required a track tangent instead of the tight radii of the existing track layout. This made it necessary to relocate the station about 1,500 meters to the southeast. This was significant for the city's layout and provided an opportunity to reorganize the road system.

The connecting road from the new station to the city center became known as "Zu den Lauben" (To the Arches). It was planned in detail, with all the building blocks and magnificent arcades. An underground railway along this axis connected the old town and the buildings on the banks of the Danube. Parallel to the "Lauben," on the now vacant site of the old railway facilities, Adolf Hitler had planned an architectural park. The theater was planned on the axis perpendicular to the "Lauben" and the park, with its façade facing southwest.

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,Zu den Lauben' with the theater facing the park axis. To the left is the new train station, to the right are the planned buildings: gallery? Library? Opera house. Adjacent is the old town. vr,

There is much more to say about the design of this street and the individual facades. There was diversity, yet the unity of the street space was preserved, so it was by no means a Rue de Rivoli. Adolf Hitler justified the "Lauben" and the parallel architectural garden with fountains, sculptures, pavilions, and the Orangery with memories from his youth.

I had repeatedly told Adolf Hitler that I did not feel up to the task of building a theater. When drawing up the plans for the street "Zu den Lauben," I therefore left the transverse axis without any representation of the theater. Adolf Hitler pointed this out and said, "We can work on that together!" The next evening, he presented me with sketches, floor plans, and facades for the Linz Opera House, but mainly for the theater, drawn on all kinds of paper over time.

work on it together!" The next evening, he presented me with sketches, floor plans, and facades for the Linz Opera House, but mainly for the theater, drawn on all kinds of paper over time, many of them just rough ideas.

I tried again to avoid this task and mentioned the theater architect Baumgarten, who was also... No, Adolf Hitler interrupted me, saying that he had been commissioned with the opera house, just as Speer had been commissioned with the gallery and Gall with the library. I knew about these plans: the buildings would surround a square on three sides, located directly in front of the city center at the beginning of the curved Landstraße, with the wide street Zu den Lauben joining on the fourth side.

On one of these floor plan sketches for the theater, I saw the note "4o ?400"; this only made sense if these numbers referred to the entrance hall. Yes, that was it. Adolf Hitler planned an open entrance hall at the front of the theater, facing the "Lauben," with astonishing dimensions of 10 meters deep and 40 meters long.

This open hall was spanned between sturdy risalits, inside which stairs led to the foyer. What made it special was that the corners of these risalits facing the open hall were designed as architectural antennas with a square cross-section, each with an associated round column. The motif for this front, albeit in a completely transformed form, had its roots in the "Templum in Antis." Instead of the protruding front surfaces of the cell walls, Adolf Hitler's design featured powerful but proportionate risalits.

However, the usual supporting columns were completely absent from the further floor plan and facade sketches and perspectives. Adolf Hitler said: "The free span of the front beam between the risalits of almost 40 meters in conjunction with a coffered ceiling plate measuring 10 by 40 meters, i.e., 400 square meters, is only possible in reinforced concrete.

And that is precisely what I want to demonstrate here: reinforced concrete with its statically possible spans serving to integrate itself into a tectonically perceived architecture!"

A

These columns can be omitted, said Adolf Hitler. This creates an open hall measuring 40 x 10 = 400 square meters.

One of Adolf Hitler's many sketches for the theater on the planned Laubenstraße in Linz.

Here I will use the technical building materials of our century without sacrificing the architectural elements that have been associated with the appearance of the theater since ancient times. Believe me, it will be in keeping with our times; there will be no dissonance, no break in style. We will be able to see that already in the model! On a trial basis, fluted pillars should be used in the model instead of the two round columns, if the span and severity of the entablature and coffered ceiling require this. The windbreak portals should stand out plastically against the entrance wall, finely structured, made of steel, bronze, or aluminum with glass. Above them, the large windows of the foyer allow a view across the park to the orangery. Portraits of important playwrights and actors will be displayed on steles on the walls of the open hall up to the entrances.
I imagine the wall surfaces in a warm, light-colored natural stone, the ribs of the ceiling remaining in the color of the concrete, but the coffers in azure blue mosaic. That should be enough for today.
His friend Franz Alfred Six commented: "Your report on the development of the Danube riverbank was preceded by a reference to Adolf Hitler. According to this, he was still dealing with urban planning problems in February 1945. The abstraction of the architectural models seems to have fascinated him, and the models certainly gave him a glimpse of his dream city. That's a strange story; I'd like to hear all the details from you sometime. Did you ever see the Linz Gauleiter again? He was executed here, wasn't he?
Yes, I will never forget my last encounter with Gauleiter Eigruber here in Landsberg. Through my work for Linz, I got to know and appreciate him better at that time. He was a great man, of a steadfast character. I knew that he had been sentenced to death in the Mauthausen trial and was awaiting execution here.
I worked as a coal and slag trimmer in the boiler house. One afternoon, I was carting pitch coal out of a remote bunker. In this coal bunker, the throw-in window was above ground level, and I could see into the courtyard, where some of the red jackets were marching in single file at a distance from each other. There, a familiar face, the Gauleiter of Linz.
I called out in a half-whisper, "Eigruber!" "Who are you?" He looked at me, I pressed my head against the bars, but covered in coal as I was, he didn't recognize me. He was already too far away for me to call after him. I waited until he came closer again on his rounds. Now he was approachable again. "Giesler," I said. "What have you got?" "Life."
He came closer again, slowed down, looked at me: "You poor guy? Why didn't you get yourself a rope?" "Go on," shouted an American soldier.

American guard. He was talking to Eigruber, because he couldn't see me. Eigruber came by again: "Poor guy, I feel sorry for you," he said. I never saw him again.

The executions always took place on Friday mornings and were accompanied by invitations to the Auerbachs, the Ohrensteins, and other distinguished guests from Munich, who sat on chairs in front of the gallows. We were locked in our cells during the hours of the executions.

Then, on one of those Fridays, I heard the loud, echoing voice of the Gauleiter of Linz in the cell block: 'Farewell, comrades!' and then his cry: 'Everything for Germany!' Brave, upright, and true to his convictions, he went to his death. We screamed and banged on the cell doors with our fists and feet.

We walked side by side in silence for a while, then my friend stopped and said: "What you told me about urban planning and architecture, about the development of the Danube embankment, the town hall, the 'Lauben' and the theater, prompts me to ask you and urge you at the same time: Concentrate on describing all the tasks that Adolf Hitler assigned to you. Write down all the conversations with Hitler that you can still remember clearly. You were his architect; he entrusted you with Linz. You gave concrete form to his ideas; that's why you were
particularly close to him, because the design of this city fascinated him until his final months.

You are the only one who can report on Hitler the city planner and his ideas, because there is no doubt that Hitler the city planner is mainly revealed in the urban designs of Munich and Linz. It is therefore not only your task, it is your duty to report on this Hitler, who had this view of urban planning and architecture that corresponds to our century.

At the moment, you are still too much under the impression of the collapse, the trial, and the imprisonment, but you will overcome that. The only important source is your statement about Hitler's personality, and in your field, you can contribute to him being understood as a historical figure of the
20th century. 104

Urban planning and architecture

Now the old, mature cities with their Gothic centers consisting of cathedrals, town halls, and pointed-gabled houses, around whose towers and gates the Baroque period had built a ring of more spiritual, brighter patrician houses, palaces, and mansions, are beginning to overflow in all directions in a formless mass, with clusters of tenement houses and functional buildings eating their way into the desolate land, which was once covered with fields and meadows. palaces and hall churches, to spill over in all directions in a formless mass, to eat their way into the desolate land with clusters of tenements and functional buildings, to destroy the venerable face of the old days through alterations and breakthroughs. Anyone looking down from a tower onto the sea of houses recognizes in this stone-turned-history
history of a being, the very epoch when organic growth ends and inorganic and therefore unlimited accumulation begins, transcending all horizons.
"I see – long after 2000 – urban complexes for ten to twenty million people spread across vast landscapes, with buildings that make the largest of today's structures look dwarfed, and transportation concepts that would seem insane to us today."
Oswald Spengler
The Decline of the West II: Cities and Peoples, Munich 1919!21

The task – Munich 1938

The "redesign of Munich" began with the planning and construction of modern transportation facilities. For future individual transportation, Adolf Hitler and Dr. Todt had determined the route of the Autobahn ring road, construction of which began in the northwest of Munich in 1938.

On May 22, 1938, the first sheet piles for the subway were driven into the ground. This marked the start of construction of the extensive subway and commuter rail system, the future means of mass transportation. The Reich Ministry of Transportation planned a modern central station as a through station to replace the old, inadequate terminus.

All this gave Adolf Hitler occasion to make a significant speech, from which I quote the essential parts*. He spoke to the construction workers and engineers at the subway construction site:

"... The task we have set ourselves has been pending for generations. Even before the war*, it was recognized that Munich's railway stations were not only unworthy, but also no longer able to meet technical requirements. But we lacked the strength to bring about a truly great solution. This was due to the political fragmentation of the Reich at the time and the endless squabbling in the parliaments and state assemblies.

The question of an underground railway in Munich had already been discussed during the peace negotiations, and after the war, it was considered to such an extent that superficial plans were drawn up. In order to preserve the old Munich of Ludwig's time at all costs, it is necessary to find a traffic regulation that keeps at least part of the "mass traffic" off the streets. There is only one way to achieve this: it is the way underground.

With car traffic doubling and tripling,

the roads within the city will soon be insufficient to cope with this mass influx. However, you can be sure that this traffic will not only triple or quadruple, but increase sixfold or eightfold. It is now our job to anticipate this traffic development and ensure that it can be managed, instead of waiting until a catastrophe occurs and it is then almost impossible to

will be able to overcome the problems. The men before us did not have the strength to find the necessary decisions and implement them based on this realization. Today, however, the law of the National Socialist movement applies here as well: we must not capitulate in the face of any difficulty.
The realization that traffic will continue to increase forces us to create the conditions necessary to ensure that traffic will continue to flow smoothly in the future. This will now be done here in a remarkably generous manner!
I would like to take this opportunity to thank the gentlemen of the Reichsbahn, first and foremost their brilliant boss Dr. Dorpmüller, for not settling for half-hearted goals but have generously tackled a major problem and are now ensuring its implementation.
The city will thus have an exemplary rapid transit network connecting the entire surrounding area with the center. In a few years, it will be possible to remove the tram from the inner city center, making many streets much quieter than they are today...
This task will be completed within five to six years at the latest. Munich will then have an excellent transport network for mass rapid transit and, above all, a series of impressive railway facilities, including the new large central station.
The same thing that is happening here will also happen in Berlin, and I would like to see the two cities enter into a noble competition in the sense that one tries to surpass the other in recognizing the necessity of the tasks at hand.
The solution of the transport problems is the primary reason for the major tasks that have been undertaken, particularly in Berlin, Munich, and Hamburg.
The second reason is this: Until now, it has been customary in Germany for everyone to build however and wherever they wanted. This has resulted in a lack of cohesion in the overall design of German cities. Do you think that Ludwigstraße would ever have been built if the citizens of Munich and other institutions in the city had been free to build as they wished? Large-scale construction projects have always been the result of uniform planning, and this is how it should be again today.
All construction projects, whether they are those of the Reich, the states, the municipalities, insurance companies, or private individuals, will be laid down in a unified plan, taking into account the overall cityscape, the interests of the cities and their traffic, and, above all, aesthetic requirements and conditions. And that is how construction is now taking place in this city.

In addition, there is a systematic effort to preserve those cultural buildings that are necessary for maintaining Munich's character as a city of art...
Thirdly, we want these tasks to be solved in a spirit that corresponds to our times. For our times are determined by concern for the future of the German people. I want the work we are doing today to still be significant centuries from now. A few figures show that our ancestors once thought on such a grand scale: When Unter den Linden was built in the 17th century, Berlin had fewer than 40,000 inhabitants, and when Ludwigstraße was built in Munich, Munich had fewer than 70,000 inhabitants. Today, Munich has over 800,000 inhabitants and Berlin has over 4.5 million.
Let no one come and tell me that the new roads we are building are too wide...
When we start this enormous task, we realize time and again that it is only possible because of the combined strength of 75 million people. It is not Berlin that is building Berlin, not Hamburg that is building Hamburg, not Munich that is building Munich, and not Nuremberg that is building Nuremberg, but Germany that is building its cities, its beautiful, proud, magnificent cities! ..."
I read this speech with keen interest at the time, because in my previous job as district building inspector I had dealt with urban planning and traffic problems, albeit only on a small scale, limited to one district. After winning competitions for interesting buildings, I left this position to return to work as a freelance architect.
As early as 1936, several Munich city councilors had visited me in Sonthofen and offered me the position of head of the city planning office, pointing out the varied design tasks involved. I had politely declined because of the buildings I had been entrusted with in the meantime.
In early summer 1938, Gauleiter Wagner of Munich-Upper Bavaria asked me for a meeting and offered me the position of head of the redesign
of Munich. He spoke on a different level, namely in his capacity as Bavarian Minister of the Interior, on behalf of his state capital.
I didn't like Wagner, and he seemed to sense that, but he was more than just surprised when I turned down his offer. I felt committed to my previous projects, for which I had earned the trust of my clients. For this reason alone, I wanted to remain an independent architect. Besides, I had no desire to expose myself to the bureaucratic and undoubtedly often discordant conflicts of competence between municipal, state, and federal authorities.
I discussed it with Speer, who already knew about this offer and my rejection.
I discussed this with Speer, who had already heard about the offer and my refusal

, and I was very surprised by his reaction: "Giesler, under no circumstances should you commit yourself to Munich! I will decide who is commissioned for Munich, and I will propose to the Führer the architect I would like to see in Munich!"
Speer told me the name of this architect. In his "Memoirs," he later makes fun of him. He then continued:
We'll have something to laugh about, I'm looking forward to it! You, Giesler, will come to Berlin and can take on buildings that interest you. I'll give you commissions like the new Philharmonic Hall and the Promi.
Of all things, the most difficult construction projects, the Propaganda Ministry and the Philharmonic Hall, plus Dr. Goebbels, the most demanding client, I thought, and waved it away: I already had enough to do with my current tasks; besides, I had no intention of going to Munich.
"Fine," Speer concluded, "stick with it! Munich should...
I don't want to go into detail here about what Speer wanted and imagined Munich should or should not be.
After the conversations with Wagner and Speer, I now knew that the redesign of Munich was complex and not just a question of design. I remembered Adolf Hitler's speech. Where was the noble competition between the redesigned cities of Berlin and Munich that he had called for? After all, this desire for noble competition in urban planning must have made an impression on Speer; he later responded to it in an unusual and very tangible way.
About a month later, while I was at one of my construction sites in Weimar, the landscape designer Alwin Seifen came to see me. He acted very important. After consulting with the leading Munich architects, whom he claimed to represent, he informed me that I was the right man for Munich. I had to take over the management of Munich's redesign and could not shirk this task.
Black clouds were gathering over Berlin and darkening the white-blue sky. Munich must not become Speer's domain; this had to be prevented at all costs. There was a danger that Munich would be swallowed up by Speer.
I laughed and replied, "Then go ahead and have your redesign revolt; I'm not going to Munich. And you, with your architects' club, can't decide that either."
Seifert remained stubborn, as was his nature, and presented me with all sorts of internal information and the latest developments in the catch-as-catch-can, the quarrels, and the threads that had been spun and pulled. I was amazed at the effusiveness of the news sources available to the apologist for Munich's interests.
"And you're coming to Munich after all!" he concluded his tirade.

In November 1938, I handed over the newly furnished Hotel Haus Elephant in Weimar. Adolf Hitler appeared with a large entourage for the inauguration . To my surprise, Gauleiter Wagner was also there, who soon asked me for a conversation.
Once again, he asked me to take over the redesign of Munich, saying that I had the full confidence of the Führer and was the right man for the job. Once again, I declined. We returned to the Führer's table in a gloomy mood. I noticed his questioning glance, which went from me to Wagner, and Wagner's negative shake of the head.
The topic of conversation was initially the new Elephant House. But then Adolf Hitler started talking about the redesign of Munich. I didn't remain an uninvolved listener for long.
Giesler, you know Munich well, you spent your student days there, said Adolf Hitler. This was followed by all sorts of questions. Although it remained within the bounds of a conversation, it was essentially an examination of Munich's urban structure, from its beginnings to its current problems. I couldn't help noticing how intently both Wagner and Bormann were following the conversation.
Adolf Hitler then spoke about traffic planning, justifying the need for a new central station and finally coming to the subway routes he had decided on. He wanted to hear my opinion on the section of the underground railway line from Marienplatz to Ostbahnhof, i.e. under the Old Town Hall, parallel to the "Tal" and Isartorplatz and then on to Ostbahnhof, and how I would lay the route, in a tunnel under the Isar or with a bridge over the Isar.
I thought about the situation, considered it, and then said:
I believe that this east-west route, with the Stachus intersection and an underpass beneath the Isar, would pose technical difficulties and possibly even affect the groundwater flow. Everything else is easy. I would have the route climb behind the Old Town Hall and then tunnel under the Isar-Parallelstraße and the Isar into the high Gasteig. Adolf Hitler slammed his hand on the table with a flourish:
Now give me the reasons, please, in detail!
There are more reasons for raising the subway route with a bridge over the Isar than for tunneling through the gravel of the groundwater flow under the Isar, even though, from a purely technical point of view, this is not a fundamental problem for the engineers.
under the Isar, even though, from a purely technical point of view, this is not a fundamental problem for the engineers.
But the route and tunnel profile are not only being designed for the subway, but also for suburban rail traffic.
Under the Isar? I don't know if the groundwater flow needs to be reduced, but in any case, you end up too deep in the steeply rising

Gasteig. This would make the gradient of the section from the Isar to the Ostbahnhof unfavorable, although still tolerable for subway operations, but hardly suitable for the much heavier S-Bahn trains.
Of course, the clearance profile of the ascending route would have to be encased, soundproofed, and completely rebuilt after it emerges behind the Old Town Hall until the route reaches the open space of the Isar-Parallelstraße. This necessary reconstruction, from which the railway line would then be led over a bridge through the open valley of the Isar, is of course not suitable for residential purposes, but could be used for technical purposes or as an archive for the city. I could also imagine that the
construction history of the underground and suburban railway systems could be housed here, which would be ideal in close proximity to the German Museum of Technology.
Overall, the advantages of bridging the Isar outweigh the disadvantages. I believe it would also be good to come out of the tunnel into the open air, especially with the view over the Isar and the green Gasteig, even if it is not the same situation as the Seine has to offer.
That reminds me of the Paris subway, the "Metro"—it has a distinctive, not at all pleasant smell, and it's poorly ventilated. That's another argument in favor of a bridge. Because if the railway line is brought out into the open near the Isar, this will also mean that the tunnels will be ventilated by the trains themselves.
I also consider a subway station above the Isar, on the small Prater island, to be necessary.
I also consider necessary. This would provide access to the Deutsches Museum, the Müller'sche Volksbad, the Alpine Museum, the Gasteig facilities, and the Isar-Parallelstraße.
The construction of the steel bridge for the railway line, with the sloping ramps of the platforms and the elevators, could be an interesting joint effort between engineers and architects in terms of design. From Zweibrückenstraße and Ludwigsbrücke, and especially from Gasteig, you can see the modern trains arriving and departing silently, all within sight and in spatial connection with the German Museum of Technology.
Adolf Hitler took me by the arm: "Listen, Wagner, what Giesler says is
's exactly what I think! You'd think we'd agreed on this,
? And I had to argue so much about this with the city and its city planning officer, Professor Alker.
Later, when Adolf Hitler had withdrawn, Gauleiter Wagner spoke to me again, this time with great urgency, saying that I had to go to Munich and take on the responsible task of redesigning the station. It was the Führer's wish.
I stuck to my initial answer: Gauleiter, you know my attitude...

Ordensburg Sonthofen/Allgäu. The palace under construction? 1935/36.

Ordensburg Sonthofen/Allgäu. Common room? Pergola.

Weimar. Model of Adolf Hitler Square with the Hall of the People's Community. In the foreground, the museum with Preller's frescoes. Competition 193

Weimar. Model of Adolf Hitler Square. In the foreground: German Labor Front building. Competition 1935/36.

Only an order could force me to do so. I will not go to Munich of my own free will! To that he could only say that the Führer's wish was an order to us National Socialists.
Of course, but the Führer did not want me in Munich as a National Socialist, but as an architect, and as an architect I was committed to the tasks entrusted to me; I could not abandon my clients and the buildings. It would be irresponsible to take on work in Munich as well; no, that was beyond my capabilities, he should please understand! Besides, I didn't feel up to this multifaceted task because it required a certain robustness that I didn't have. With this argument, I hoped to have finally fended off the commission to redesign Munich.
A few weeks later, in mid-December 1938, the Führer's adjutant called and informed me that the Führer wished to speak to me in Munich that evening Wagner's adjutant was waiting for me at the train station. I thought, the Führer wants to speak to me? "I have orders to take you to the Gauleiter!" "Will this never end?" I thought. Gauleiter Wagner greeted me with, "Well, the time has come, dear Professor Giesler. The Führer wants to speak with you. He will entrust you with Munich!" "You've made things difficult for me," I said.
Gauleiter Wagner greeted me with: "The time has come, dear Professor Giesler. The Führer wants to speak with you. He will entrust you with Munich! You have made it difficult for him." I remained silent.
The conversation during the simple dinner for three was lively and interesting. Adolf Hitler spoke about Baroque architecture and its buildings in Rome, Vienna, and Würzburg. Not a word was said about Munich! As we parted, , he said casually that he expected me the next day for a discussion about Munich. At the same time, he informed an adjutant. I now knew that the decision had been made.
The meeting took place in the morning in the Führerbau on Königlicher Platz. I stood opposite Adolf Hitler in his study; we were alone. Without any particular emphasis, as if he were continuing the evening's conversation, he said:
Giesler, I am entrusting you with the redesign of Munich. I am convinced that it is in good hands with you.
Your clients, such as Dr. Ley and Sauckel, will also welcome my decision. They will fully understand that your main focus will now be on this great task in Munich. Delegate your previous tasks more to employees who have proven themselves. Your designs are ready and have even been worked out in detail in the model. You will retain an overview.
I found it typical of Adolf Hitler, and it was in keeping with his nature: he did not give me an "order," and yet behind this "I entrust you with the redesign of Munich" lay a compelling instruction that could only come from great determination and authority.

His fascinating eyes were impossible to resist; there was something in them that compelled discipline. But nevertheless, the magnitude of the task and the responsibility weighed heavily on me: "My Führer, I am uncertain and do not know whether I am up to this task. I do not know whether my abilities are sufficient and whether I have the strength to assert myself."
Giesler, I have hesitated for a long time, but now it is an order that leads you to this task. I am convinced that you will succeed; I stand behind you with my authority, and I am available to speak with you at any time.
You are a National Socialist, and you will therefore understand my goal of redesigning Munich. You know Munich well and are also aware of the tradition and atmosphere of this city. I value you as an architect, and you have my full confidence. I also know that the redesign of this city cannot be limited to the planning and construction of a new, modern, traffic-friendly road axis, new streets, or the redesign of squares. It is not just a matter of contemporary traffic facilities or a modern main station:
you will see and understand your task as encompassing the organism of this city as a whole. You will lay the foundations for overcoming the chaotic disorder that has engulfed the traditional city center and the buildings of the kings. The new design must correspond to our view of life, which means that the cultural, political, and social expression of our time must be recognizable in the city's architecture.
Should your detailed plans prove to be at odds with any of my existing instructions, please consult me.
. Otherwise, you have a free hand; I am giving you the same powers for Munich as Speer has for Berlin. I assume that this will also provide you with support for your other buildings.
I should accompany him to the Berghof or travel with him to Berlin. We would then discuss in detail the urban planning requirements and prerequisites for the future healthy architectural development of Munich.
But before I obtained the information necessary for my work from the authorities, I was to wait for his decree legitimizing me. Now I was to go over to Bormann, who, with his admirable memory, could inform me about the orders and decisions made so far concerning the reorganization of Munich and discuss all the details with me.
Adolf Hitler put his hand and arm around my shoulder, accompanied me to the door, and shook my hand, a gesture of familiarity and confidence.

In a concise, matter-of-fact manner, Bormann gave me an introduction to the task assigned to me of redesigning Munich. He outlined my future responsibilities and my powers vis-à-vis the authorities of the Reich, the state, the city, and the municipalities, the party, and its branches, within the framework of urban development measures. He then referred to decisions already made by Adolf Hitler on general planning and on solving traffic problems.

He then spoke about the tensions and differences of opinion between the Reichsbahn and the city and concluded by characterizing the personalities with whom I would have to deal in implementing my orders. He ended his remarks by saying that the Führer was aware of the difficulties of the task I had been assigned, but that I had his full confidence. I thought it was right to go to Berlin to inform Speer about the decisions.

Speer was surprised and said to his closest associates: "Giesler has been tasked with Munich. This will now be tolerated."

I had gone my own way without knowing where it would lead, and now, against my will, I was faced with a task that is rarely assigned to an architect. This task demanded unremitting work and effort, and there were also struggles; despite all my powers, it was by no means easy to assert myself. However, the work on this task led to times and heights of exhilarating design. Then came the years of war, with even greater burdens, hardship, and oppression.

At the end of all my efforts came collapse, and with it began my humiliation, which led me to the depths of the Landsberg prison for war criminals.

And yet I have never regretted having taken this path: through the competitions and planning of the Weimar and Augsburg forums, I became a discussion partner of Adolf Hitler. But it was through our joint work on the redesign of Munich that I gained his trust.

I feel I should record the journey because of the meaningful conversations he had with me, which have left a lasting impression on me.

The Allgäu Ordensburg in Sonthofen*

The design and construction of a training center had been at the beginning of my career as an architect for the party and the state. In February 1933, Dr. Ley had spoken about the necessary education and training of young party members. He wanted to have three training camps built in scenic areas.

Already in his first lecture, interspersed with his characteristic vivid imagery, the idea of the Order of the Staufers resounded, consciously or unconsciously, and brought to mind Hermann von Salza: A continuous selection of young, talented individuals should be trained in these camps through hard mental and physical training in order to one day serve the party, the community, and the nation.

Since the available resources were limited, Dr. Ley considered having barracks built. I objected in a discussion. Dr. Ley replied: But with such camps we remain mobile, we can change location, and besides, we have to build cheaply.

We are not nomads, I said, the barracks are a temporary solution.

and only tolerable for a limited period of time. However, they needed development, supply and disposal facilities such as permanent buildings. I believe that barracks are not suitable for training elites, nor do they correspond to our necessary architectural self-image.

So, without being asked, I designed a training center. I made a wooden model to show what I had in mind. I presented it to Dr. Ley at the next training center directors' meeting in Bernau near Berlin. Now there was no more discussion about the training camps. Dr. Ley immediately approved my design. He did not know that I was an architect. And I did not know at the time that Dr. Ley would be a great builder.

He visited the building site I had suggested. Just as the wooden model had made the construction plans clear at the beginning, the young people of the Allgäu region, who had volunteered at my request, now helped me: the boys ran around wildly on the site, but then stood still in a meaningful formation, forming the contours of the future building and making it visible in the landscape. I was able to guide Dr. Ley through the building represented by the young people, through the rooms into the inner courtyard with its magnificent view to the south of the mountains. I found him to be an enthusiastic client.

At the time, I wasn't just interested in a training center; I also saw it as a construction project that would create jobs for over a hundred unemployed bricklayers, stonemasons, and carpenters. I was district master builder at the time and was familiar with the difficult situation faced by other construction workers.

Construction began in accordance with traditional Alpine building methods and using materials available in the Allgäu region: quarry stone and wood. The complex grew from a camp into a training castle, and the plans even included an Ordensburg (a type of castle used by the Nazi party). However, only a third of the buildings were completed before the war forced construction to be halted.

Thus, the "Ordensburg Allgäu" existed only in the imagination. In its unfinished state, the building remained a torso, suitable for a variety of uses, but contrary to the ideas of the client and the architect and also not in harmony with the organism of the building itself.

The planned integration into the landscape could also no longer be carried out. The castle was located on a moraine terrace above the Iller valley and the village. Bare and almost useless, the slope of the plateau stretched for miles to the south towards the valley and was to be reforested with larch trees. With the changing colors of the seasons, this larch forest would have framed the castle and at the same time separated it from the built-up valley. However, success came soon after completion of the first construction phases, as even in this state the castle gained importance in the Allgäu region: through chamber plays, lectures, and chamber music of the highest caliber, it became the cultural center of the community.

In November 1937, I showed Adolf Hitler around the castle and explained the further expansion using a model. He praised the simplicity of the complex and was impressed by the austere severity of the interior design.

The "architecture of the community" was the topic of our further conversation. Adolf Hitler believed that the culture of our century was divided into disciplines with absolute specialization, and that the beginnings of this could already be seen in the

19th century. But it was precisely in architecture that the unity of constructive thinking and artistic feeling was indispensable, he said, and that this must lead to a tectonic synthesis. Constructive thinking and artistic feeling for rhythm

and proportions should be inseparably combined in an architect's work to form a harmonious unity.
The conversation was informal, like between architects with the same architectural sensibility. We were interrupted when General Sperrle suddenly appeared with an officer from the Condoe Legion. I wanted to leave the room, but Adolf Hitler held me back. So I listened to the general's military and political report and the orders and commands that followed.
I witnessed Adolf Hitler's transformation from a man who had just been intuitively creative to a man with a streamlined military appearance and an authority that was compelling yet self-evident.
When I accompanied him to the hall, he gave me his interpretation of the events: We could not tolerate Bolshevism gaining a foothold in Spain under the guise of democracy and coming to power. On the other hand, he was not sure whether our help and commitment would not ultimately serve to consolidate reactionary conditions. We could only hope that the Spanish Falange would recognize its task in the coming Europe and prevail.
The speech that concluded the "Sonthofen Day" was sensational; it was also testimony to a comprehensive awareness of history. Adolf Hitler spoke to the party leaders about the structure and organization of the leadership of the people and about the Germanic-German idea of a Reich: This new Reich would not be based on an idea of the state, but on the 85 million people of the German national community. The union of the people into a nation would only be possible by overcoming the divisions and weaknesses into which the conflicts between confessions, dynasties, and parties had led us in the course of history:
"We already had Europe once. We only lost it because we lacked the energy of leadership that was necessary to not only maintain our position in the long run, but also to increase it."
He went on to talk about the selection and education of an elite, about authority, and about creative and combative personalities. His remarks also provided the rationale for the Ordensburgen and their tasks.
As the day progressed, after the conversations, the experiences of the military-political discussion, and the history-conscious speech, I became aware of the multifaceted, fascinating personality of Adolf Hitler and his charisma.

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Weimar
Adolf Hitler Square
At the end of 1935, I was asked to take part in the competition for the Gauforum Weimar. Speer appeared at the construction site in Sonthofen and said to me: This competition will reveal whether your design for the Ordensburg was a fluke. Weimar gives you the opportunity to prove your skills against a selection of architects.
A year earlier, my friend Opdenhoff had already approached me: "A party forum is to be built here in Weimar. Giesler, that would be something for you!"
It was at the end of a conference, we were standing in front of the National Theater in Weimar, we were guests of the Gau leadership of Thuringia. A prominent figure from Weimar said dryly: "We don't need Giesler for that, the planning for the forum is in the best hands here with the professors at the university." Jokes were exchanged. It would be strange if you were waiting for me of all people in Weimar.
I thought about that after Speer asked me to take part in the competition. Twelve architects were recommended to the Führer by the Gau Thüringen, the Troost studio in Munich, and Speer, who reserved the right to make the final decision. The construction program was explained to the participants in Munich, followed by an introduction to the difficult local conditions in Weimar.
In the middle of the city, between the railway station area and the old town center, lay a flat valley cut through by a road viaduct. Due to technical difficulties, the site had not yet been developed. This was to be the location of the Forum, a closed square formed by the buildings of the Reich Governor, the Gau leadership, the German Labor Front, the party organizations, and the labor service.

The city museum with its Preller frescoes stood alone on the edge of the valley, like a buffer stop in the axis of Bahnhofstrasse. This building was now to be incorporated into the composition of the square, which did not exactly make the task any easier. The museum was a massive stone building on an exaggerated scale: two stories with an attic and dome stood on a high, rough base.
We architects looked down from the large open staircase, which led from the ornate flower beds to the museum entrance, across the undeveloped valley to the poor old outskirts of the city. So this was the welcome, the gateway to the wine country of Goethe and Schiller. Only a few hundred meters behind this desolation stood the German National Theater!
Was there no better location in Weimar for this important building project? Most of the competition participants asked this question.
No, explained Gauleiter Sauckel, this location had been chosen by Adolf Hitler himself. That's right. According to the district's wishes, this square should later bear his name. I was aware of why Adolf Hitler wanted the Weimar Forum built here; he wanted to overcome the chaos and disorder in the urban space.
I won the competition.
But new considerations led to a change in the construction program: instead of the Reich Governor's building, a "Hall of the People's Community" was to stand in the central axis and determine the scale of the square. That seemed quite right to me. Weimar did have a city hall, but its layout and form did not suit Adolf Hitler. He therefore donated the Forum Hall.
A new competition was announced. I didn't want to participate anymore: I had already made my contribution and won the first competition, that was enough for me. Let the Weimar professors sort it out among themselves! I argued that I was overwhelmed with work for the Sonthofen building. But it didn't help; I had to comply with an urgent request. They had sensed the "Westphalian stubbornness" behind my excuse of being overworked.
I also won the second competition and was summoned to the Reich Chancellery. Adolf Hitler told me that he had upheld his decision from the first competition and wanted to commission me directly with the design for the hall. But the Thuringians had claimed me as their architect because of the chance
ce of the second competition. But he was certain that I would also prevail with the second design. He pointed to the model: The building composition still requires an energetic vertical element; place
a tower here, and emphasize the entrance to the Reich Governor's office with a risalit.

In a lengthy conversation, Adolf Hitler then explained his ideas and thoughts on the sequence of rooms and the design of spaces in the urban fabric. He began by talking about Weimar. He said that he saw the Weimar competition as the only opportunity to distance himself from a design that had taken him by surprise in Weimar and had been presented to him by Gauleiter Sauckel.
This design envisaged the Goethe Park as the location. Although the buildings were sophisticated in design, they were strongly traditional. As a result, the whole complex looked more like the residence of a grand duke than a forum for the party.
It was impossible to diminish Goethe Park! As for the location he had chosen for the party forum in Weimar, it presented the architect with all kinds of design challenges, but the situation could not remain as it was! Visitors came to Weimar with high expectations, expecting classicism, and found an unformed reception. That was the reason why he had chosen this location for the forum.
Certainly, it would be easier to plan and build out in the park or on high ground. But our buildings should not be isolated, they should not stand alone; he wanted them to blend into the organism of the city: Here, he added, pointing to the model, this offered the opportunity to integrate the solitary museum into the building composition. This integration and framing also made its scale acceptable and gave the building the dignity befitting its contents.
With my initial considerations for the construction program, which was to place the Reich Governor's building in the central axis of the square, I had made a mistake. It is not the individual, the Reich Governor, who is at the center—that would be an urban planning relapse into absolutism—but rather the community, which is represented by this hall.
I liked your idea of framing the entrance to the large hall with two square, high crypts as a resting place for the SA men who fell in the battle for Thuringia. I assume you envisage open light wells for illumination?
Yes, the light falls from above into the two crypts, which is the most beautiful way to illuminate a ceremonial room.
Check later during construction whether the ceiling recess should be square or round for the most effective lighting. He looked at the forum model from all sides and then said:
Giesler, I would like to see a fountain close to the tower. That wouldn't be out of place in Weimar; think of the beautiful Neptune fountain on the market square. A fountain with water features would give the square even more atmosphere. What do you think of all this?

It was the first conversation I had with Adolf Hitler as an architect,
so I was surprised at how relaxed and informal he was, as if we had known each other for a long time.
In response to his question, I said that I also felt that a dominant vertical element, a tower, and the sculptural risalit as a necessary interval were missing. This had struck me particularly since the model had been used to visualize the design.
made the design visible. A fountain had also already been suggested by one of my colleagues. But a clearly defined building program makes you feel constrained.
"Free yourself from that," said Adolf Hitler, "and design
according to your feelings.
Later, another special feature was added to the forum layout: a bronze sculpture. The large sculpture was to stand asymmetrically in front of the left-hand side of the hall, next to the wide entrance, representing Prometheus as a sculptural replica of Goethe's poem.
After lunch, Adolf Hitler wanted to continue discussing the plans for Weimar with me.
of Weimar. So it was only natural that the conversation at the table in the magnificent dining room of the Reich Chancellery, which Ludwig Troost had designed, turned to the subject of urban planning and architecture. I listened with interest, as did two guests from Cologne, and after the meal they complained animatedly about the urban development expenses that Adenauer had caused.
Only now, they said, was the extent of Cologne's debt becoming apparent.
The former mayor's high-handedness had caused the debt burden to grow to such an extent that there was cause for serious concern. Adenauer had pursued the expansion of the Cologne Ring, the
Cologne-Bonn expressway – and a number of other urban development measures were mentioned – at great expense.
And of all people, this man, who as mayor of Cologne had burdened the city with this debt, this former separatist and declared opponent of the party, was
receiving his full pension.
I thought to myself, and that's exactly how it turned out. Adolf Hitler listened quietly to all this, and I had the impression that he was slightly amused. He then said:
"We are all aware of that. Adenauer was a separatist and an opponent of the party because of his militant Catholicism, and therefore unacceptable to us as mayor.
But Adenauer was a mayor of great stature, and
he proved. He was aware of the historical and scenic importance of this city. He promoted it with all means at his disposal. He also clearly recognized the urban structure of Cologne and therefore initiated and took responsibility for the necessary urban development measures.
Of course, that costs money, and the debts led to economic decline. But the city of Cologne will pay off these debts, and

the citizens of Cologne will recognize that Adenauer's achievements deserve recognition and not the withdrawal of his pension.
Afterwards, Adolf Hitler continued the conversation with me in the library.
He said: "I had a very impressive experience of great architecture, and that in the Ruhr area of all places. After hours of driving through monotonous residential areas, which made a particularly bleak impression between the bizarre silhouettes of blast furnaces and winding towers and imposing industrial buildings, we crossed a bridge over the Ruhr and I saw a city hall of surprising, because unexpected, beauty.
Beautiful in its overall appearance as well as in all its details. It seemed to me as if I were seeing a light after a long period of darkness: it was the city hall of Mülheim an der Ruhr.
As magnificent as this individual achievement in architecture was, and as impressive as it stood on its own, this building made it clear to me that it stood alone and should have been incorporated into a composition that would have given it the distance from everyday life that its status deserved.
It needed a designed space around it that corresponded to its dignity as an architectural achievement and its purpose as a hall for the city's residents.
A parallel to this is the sound of a beautiful voice: it must not be shattered or drowned out by everyday noise. The sound must be carried by the orchestra and absorbed in the carefully planned space of the audience.
He continued by saying that, no matter how important its purpose and how beautifully designed it may be, an individual building requires an overall plan, and this plan must fit into the urban fabric or the structure of the district.
, and this in turn must fit into the urban organism or the structure of the district.
He had had many similar experiences and impressions in Mülheim. From this he had come to the conclusion that architecture only manifested itself as an artistic achievement in context.
The individual building needs the designed space and distance around it. At the same time, however, it must connect with this space in order to be best appreciated.
. Magnificent examples of this are Prince Eugene's Belvedere, Schönbrunn Palace, and Nymphenburg Palace. He emphasized once again that if an individual building does not have this designed space, it should be connected to other buildings to form an urban concept for the street or square space in order to generate impulses in keeping with its status.
This makes it clear that the social disorder that has become visible in the buildings must also be overcome. That is why I mentioned the town hall in Mülheim in connection with the planned forum in Weimar.

We had walked up and down in the library and were standing again in front of the model and plans for the forum. Göring was announced by an orderly. Adolf Hitler introduced me.
Göring said that he was interested in Weimar, and Adolf Hitler explained the construction plans to him using the model. To allow a view of the interior of the large hall, the flat roof was removable. It had been lying on the table with the plans since our discussion.
Göring looked attentively into the interior of the hall from above and shook his head: "And what happens when it rains or snows?" "Simple!" said Adolf Hitler, taking the roof and placing it on the hall, laughing and winking at me. "Well," said Göring, "I could have thought of that too!" Then he laughed along with us.
In the evening, I drove to Weimar to meet Gauleiter Sauckel. His staff were waiting for me at the Hotel Elephant, where I, the architect commissioned for the Weimar Gauforum, was staying.
Hotel Elephant
The old Hotel Elephant, built in 1521, had to be closed in the summer of 1937 because it was in danger of collapsing. The ceiling beams had rotted at their supports and buckled. The load-bearing walls were from the good old days, made of field stones in clay mortar. Only centuries of tradition had held everything together until then. The building authorities demanded that it be demolished.
Gauleiter Fritz Sauckel was dismayed at the loss of this building, which was so important to Weimar, where Goethe, Schiller, Wieland, Herder, and many others had stayed and found lodging. The Gauleiter reported to the Reich Chancellery to inform Adolf Hitler and seek his instructions. I was building in Weimar at the time and had Sauckel's trust. He therefore asked me to come with him. I was not only to provide technical explanations about the current state of construction, but Sauckel also wanted to propose me as the architect for the new building project.
After our presentation, Adolf Hitler decided that the building inspectorate was right to demand demolition, that renovation was out of the question given the state of the building, and that we were lucky no one had been hurt: The "Elephant" would be rebuilt!
He then spoke about how the new hotel in Weimar should look in order to reflect our attitude to life, which he emphasized particularly. He also saw this individual building in context, as part of the market square, as a natural obligation. He then explained his reasoning.
The design of the new building with contemporary room layouts: 124

I would like to see a large hall, beautifully designed dining rooms, and a large, bright breakfast room facing the hotel garden, which can also be used as a function room for parties, in connection with the hall. Furthermore, conference rooms so that more conferences than before can be held in Weimar. All rooms must have good connections to the kitchens and serving areas. Everything must be equipped with the necessary comforts to make guests feel at home.
No caravanserai and no pompous hotel arrogance, no gimmicks? You will find a design in keeping with the times that reflects the tradition and dignity of the old "Elephant"! One must feel
: this building is designed, planned, and built for Weimar; it continues a tradition. Simplicity combined with solid workmanship, even in all the details. Sauckel, the planning for the new home of Weimar's old "Elephant" is in the best hands with Giesler!
I thought, and Sauckel probably did too, that this outlined the plan for the new building and that we would be dismissed. But Adolf Hitler continued to concern himself with the new "Haus Elephant" and went into detail:
I already said that the new house should fit in with the scale of the old market square, no exceeding the building height. Perhaps you will be able to come to an agreement with the neighboring Hotel Erbprinz to design the rear gardens in a spatially uniform manner.
By the way: a garage could be built under the garden, couldn't it? What a convenience for the guests! No, no ramps cutting through the garden, but rather a car platform, an electric car lift, with an emergency power generator for safety. That is necessary anyway for a house like this.
All technical facilities must be exemplary: the kitchen facilities, the cold storage rooms, the ventilation, the elevators. Telephone and radio systems in every room. Good sound insulation is important; this is one area where no expense should be spared. Use the best companies for the sanitary facilities.
Of course, Sauckel, we loved the old "Elephant," but we had to put up with a lot in it, and we endured it because it was the "Old Elephant." But some things were at the limit of what was tolerable.
A number of apartments are required, with living rooms where people can feel comfortable and also hold meetings. This living room/bedroom combination would also be ideal for artists who perform here and spend some time in Weimar.
A room for a ladies' and gentlemen's hairdresser must also be provided, even if they are only open at certain times. Each floor must have sideboards connected to the kitchen sideboards by small elevators.

In addition to double rooms with all amenities, please provide a large number of single rooms, with and without shower or bath. These single rooms do not need to be very large, but should have a built-in wardrobe and a washbasin and shower in an ante-room.
Sauckel, make sure that the prices for overnight stays remain low. Guests who need to save money should not be unwelcome at the Hotel Elephant. Incidentally, inexpensive rooms encourage guests to eat in the hotel, which keeps the business profitable.
Although I don't drink alcohol myself, I do think a hotel bar is necessary. It could be built in the basement. A basement restaurant with its own kitchen for simple dishes would be ideal. It must be accessible both from the hotel and directly from the market square. By the way, Giesler, make sure you use good, easy-care, and durable building materials, especially for the floors. And, Sauckel: A
A particular problem is finding staff for such a facility. Make sure you have good employees who are paid decently. And ensure good social conditions, accommodation, meals, and leisure time. Everything must be so good that word gets around. It is best to entrust the management of the facility to a married couple. Both should be professionals, reliable, skilled, and solid.
Sauckel, I am already looking forward to the "New Elephant" that Giesler is building for us, where we will feel at home. Believe me, the atmosphere will be there, and the style of the house will develop. Now make sure you get the new building up quickly, Giesler. If you could build an apartment for me on the garden side, I would be very grateful.
I called some employees from Sonthofen to Weimar from the Reich Chancellery. Despite the great construction pressures at that time, I handed over the new Hotel Haus Elephant to Adolf Hitler in November 1938.
Giesler, it truly deserves its name; it is not just a hotel, it is a house where I enjoy living.
I believe that this building and a conversation that took place there during the opening ceremony were the final impetus for Adolf Hitler to summon me to Munich. There is one small detail that should be added: I accompanied Adolf Hitler to the apartment in the Elephant Building that had been designated for him.
to the apartment in the Elephant Building that had been designated for him. For the duration of his stay, I had borrowed several paintings from the museum, including a Cranach: The Woman with the Cheeky Hat. Adolf Hitler smiled and said:
"It must have taken a lot of effort to persuade the curator to lend it to you, and now he's probably trembling and wishing I were who knows where. By the way, I don't like this Cranach painting very much."
He turned toward the window to look out into the garden. As he did so, he saw two drawings on the window pillars: "Magnificent, the column from the Parthenon ? And here ? Well, well, that's the column from the Paulinzella monastery ruins! With that

You really made my day. I said that my colleague Kröninger—I had introduced him in the hall—had drawn the columns on parchment in sepia and washed them. A year later, I requested the title "Baurat" (building officer) for Kröninger. "But of course," said Adolf Hitler, "he's the one who did the column drawings in my living room in the Elephant Building."

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The square design for Augsburg

The Augsburg City Hall, located in a green zone between the city center and the Göggingen district, had burned down. The city decided to build a new city hall, and the same green zone was chosen as the location. One of Augsburg's best architects was commissioned to draw up the plans for this hall in collaboration with Speer.

At the end of 1937, the plans and accompanying models were presented to Adolf Hitler during a visit to Augsburg by Speer and the Augsburg architect. My brother Paul and I were present. We thought the design was excellent, and all the details confirmed the architect's skill.

So it came as a surprise to everyone when Adolf Hitler rejected this design. He recognized it as a good design, but at the same time saw it as a one-off solution. I remembered his description of the Mülheim city hall. He wanted the Augsburg hall to be integrated into the urban fabric; instead of an isolated, stand-alone building, he was looking for an urban planning solution.

He had a map of the city drawn up and sketched the merging of two adjacent streets separated only by different elevations. This created a new traffic axis approximately 48 meters wide between the opera house in the north and a roundabout in the south. This new street ran parallel to the famous medieval street Maximilianstraße, decorated with fountains, at a distance of about 350 meters. Maximilianstraße stretched from the Bürgerkirche St. Ulrich, past the Fugger family's ancestral home, then the town hall designed by Elias Holl, to the bishop's cathedral, the old Augusta Vindelicorum.

With just a few strokes on the site plan, it was clear that this broad traffic axis would consolidate and reorganize the 19th-century district, while at the same time offering the possibility of a contemporary design.

He sketched further, connecting this new street between the old town center and the railway facilities, initially at right angles, then slightly angled, generously connecting it to the station square.

It later proved that this was decisive for the structural concept. 128

Prornetheus in front of the Hall of the People's Community in Weimar. Based on Goethe's poem. Sculptor Arno Breker.

Hotel Haus Elephant in Weimar. 1937/38.
View from the market square. Adolf Hitler's living quarters.

Hocelhafl Hit View of the breakfast room. 1 1, ,k1i1.11L with view of the entrance.

The tower for the Augsburg Forum with the entrance front of the town hall. Model 1938.

Design and layout: The sculptural hall front and the tower of the planned complex dominated both the view from the station square and, surprisingly, the diagonal line to the beginning of the old town!
Adolf Hitler needed only a moment's concentration before he sketched a rectangle with bold strokes from the intersection of these two streets, thus determining the location of the city hall and a square. He said:
The hall belongs in the city. It is centrally located here and can be reached quickly from all sides. It is also well connected to public transportation: close to the train station, buses, and trams. We will also provide parking spaces for cars.
This will create a street and an urban design of the
20th century. This is significant in terms of urban planning because we have to work very hard to compete with the medieval street layout. Due to the economic boom in recent years, a number of public and private construction projects are also planned in Augsburg. According to previous practice, building sites would now be chosen arbitrarily and opportunistically, by chance or for profit. Here, the new road axis offers the opportunity to meet the demands of modern construction needs through careful planning.
The representative offices and branches, the showrooms, the advertising of Augsburg's major industries such as MAN, Messerschmitt, the chemical works, the world-renowned textile and trading houses – here, in the street layout of the 20th century, they should find their place.
Everything, including the city's construction projects, must be consolidated here, then the square with the city hall, the building for the Gau and for the German Labor Front would make sense. And we could also afford a tower; it belongs to this new part of Augsburg like the Perlachturm belongs to the city hall and the old street. The square should be more than just an open space; it should become Augsburg's forum.
This was a minor sensation, because the continued existence of the Gau Schwaben had been in doubt for years. It was said that the Gau would be "incorporated" into Munich-Upper Bavaria and thus lose its independence. With its inclusion in the Augsburg city plan and the new construction program, these assumptions and speculations were put to rest. Adolf Hitler's visit ended in the "Golden Hall" of the town hall. My brother, who at that time led the SA group of the Munich-Upper Bavaria and Swabia districts, stood next to me when Adolf Hitler said goodbye. He shook my brother's hand, then turned to me, paused, and said: "You are brothers, aren't you? I should have guessed it long ago and I should have known! He took us both by the hands: "You two accompany me to the train, I want to talk to you."
On the way, we talked about Augsburg. On the platform, we agreed to meet at the station in Augsburg.

We parted ways, my brother stayed where he was, and I went with Adolf Hitler to his compartment.
What does your brother do for a living? Architect. Like you? No, better, he can do more. Adolf Hitler laughed:
He should go back to being an architect; I can replace him as an SA leader.
He got on the train and waved to us.
A few months later, in the spring of 1938, Adolf Hitler said to me: "I still need your brother as an SA leader. He is to build up the SA in the Ostmark, in my homeland, in the districts of Oberdonau, Salzburg, and Tyrol. His base will be in Linz on the Danube."
At the beginning of 1938, I was summoned to the Berghof. Adolf Hitler said: "We're not getting anywhere in Augsburg, they don't understand me... I'm putting you in charge of planning the road and the square for Augsburg. Work out a preliminary design as soon as possible!"
I returned to the Berghof with sketches and drawings for the design of the square, which I had quickly worked out with my colleagues.
I believed that my designs would be appreciated, but that was not the case.
Adolf Hitler was dissatisfied:
I cannot outline in detail how I imagine this square should be designed, but one thing I know: it must be shaped by the characteristics of Augsburg.
Perhaps you should take another look at the architectural situation and the character of the city. When your design is then transferred to a three-dimensional model, it must be clear that it is planned for Augsburg. That's how I felt when I saw your model for Weimar: that is Weimar.
Now I am experiencing your Weimar Square being presented to me in reproductions. We must ensure that every square is designed in a way that develops organically from the city itself.
I had to keep the street as closed as possible, given that it was only 1,200 meters long. Not only should the flowing traffic bring life to the street, but the new Augsburg business center should also be built here, without competing with the shops in the old town. Instead, he envisioned larger exhibition spaces and branches of important industrial companies in the Augsburg area, including large trading houses, with illuminated advertising to enliven the street.
The building housing the Gau leadership and the German Labor Front should only have its narrow side facing the street and should contain business and exhibition rooms on the ground floor.
He wanted to keep the party's necessary leadership and administrative expenses as low as possible and, in a sense, place them in full view of the public and the community in order to avoid the danger of bloating and self-importance.

He could also imagine that rooms in this building could be used for the immediate benefit of the urban community, such as a library, reading rooms, lecture halls, and much more. In other words, the building should serve urban life and not degenerate into a collection of offices for party bigwigs! This applied in principle to all districts.
Referring again to the large square, he said in general terms: "As far as I understand the situation, there is an undulation in the ground extending from the south towards the square. We can also see this here in the elevation entries on the plan and in the slope of the side streets. The difference is about 2 to 3 meters. I therefore consider it appropriate to incorporate this difference in elevation through the building groups and at the same time raise the entire square by another two to three meters.
This means that the square will then be at least five meters above the street level of the new, large axis. Elevated above the traffic, the square will become a quiet district in the midst of the urban hustle and bustle. At the same time, however, the traffic axis along the length of the square will be conceived as street space. The height of the street-square wall could be emphasized by an arcade extending beyond these five meters.
Now the entire square could be built over, with at least two, if not three, basement levels. The space gained could be used as a large parking garage, with access and exits to the side and from the rear side street. It may seem too ambitious now , some might say exaggerated. But in a decade, it will be just right, and the parking spaces will be used to their full potential. The basement could also be used as an air-raid shelter in times of emergency. Let's keep that between us for now; don't mention it to anyone.
My reasoning is as follows: if I allow myself such a large space in the urban fabric and want to take responsibility for it, then I have to use it twice, if not three times, as an actual open-air space, including parking spaces for motor vehicles, perhaps even on two levels.
This is entirely appropriate, as the square is centrally located, close to the new buildings along the street axis, the old town, the train station, and, of course, the city hall itself when events are taking place. At the same time, this underground structure would provide ancillary and storage rooms at the same level for the city hall, but also
along the entire length of the square towards the street, under the arcades. These rooms could be used in a variety of ways by the city:
Try designing the square with the building groups, taking these points into account!
Opposite the hall's front end, but encompassing the entire block, a modern hotel building should be planned, in front of which there should be a garden terrace with steps on all sides and a fountain in the middle. This would look like a magnificent flower arrangement, perfect for a festive welcome, whether you are coming from the train station or via the new road to visit the city.

Do your best, Giesler, and try to translate my thoughts and ideas into the right form for Augsburg!

It was evening by then, and we continued talking about the buildings in Weimar. I noticed that he was restless. He repeatedly asked what time it was and whether Miss Braun had called. Then he went back to looking at the plans or gazing through the large window in the living room at the distant snowfields of the Untersberg, barely visible in the darkness.

He called for a secretary: "Why didn't Miss Braun come back with you?" "She had a few things to do." "Who is she with, her friend, Mrs. Schneider?" "I'm worried, she should be here by now. I hope nothing has happened!"

Finally, Miss Braun arrived with her friend. They said they had been driving for a long time and had stopped for a cup of coffee on the way. "I was worried, couldn't you have called?" "Oh, I didn't want to." Miss Braun, a nice young lady, looked at me. Adolf Hitler introduced me. "I've heard about you," she said.

Miss Braun, a nice young lady, looked at me. Adolf Hitler introduced me. "I've heard about you," she said.

I gained new insights and impressions, I met a Miss Eva Braun, but also an Adolf Hitler who was very concerned about her.

I had a lot to think about when I drove back the next day to start working on the Augsburg designs, for which I had received so much inspiration.

My colleagues were very skeptical when they heard about the new basic concept; they couldn't come to terms with the elevated location, if only because of possible obstructed views from the streets to the city hall.

I did not let this deter me; Adolf Hitler had convinced me that his thoughts and ideas were sensible and practical. I now understood what he was striving for: his primary concern was to clearly define and consolidate the street space so that it would not become fragmented. This also meant separating the square and the city hall from traffic and noise.

The square was not to be oriented toward the new street, but rather, energetically set apart from the level of this street, it was to become an open space with two-story arcades and pergolas along the town hall.

As a sunny space and, as it seemed to me, also for summer festivals, the square with the hall was to be used by the population. This explained his desire for fountains and sculptures, flower bowls, and seating areas by the arcades and arbors. He also wanted a café to be built in the casino building between the town hall and the Gauanlage, as well as a connection between the town hall's service rooms and the east-facing arbors that opened onto the square.

I began my work with a small clay model. Starting at street level, I modeled the elevated square with the town hall and the arcade bordering the street. This created a strong horizontal effect. Next, I added the Gau building with its vertical lines and, asymmetrically aligned with the front of the hall, the tower. Each structure was accentuated according to its purpose, yet everything blended together rhythmically. I emphasized the horizontal lines of the town hall even more and raised the austere cube of the Gau building. I gave it vertical divisions by means of a risalit and made the depths of the building visible at the corners as sculptural projections. Careful examination of the model, in which I marked the viewing points for perspective exactly according to reality, removed the last doubts. There was no disturbing overlap between the structures. My colleagues now helped me with the further elaboration.

We developed the basis for the detailed planning on a larger working model. We worked hard and soon realized that, in accordance with Adolf Hitler's ideas and visions, a square was emerging that perfectly matched the character of Augsburg. The versatile, extensive spatial program required an eight-story building with two inner courtyards on a floor area of 90 by 140 meters. The vertical structure with its accentuated finish by an attic cornice with frieze gave the building a castle-like shape—why not? A slight reminiscence of the Roman founding of the city may have been intended. To add to the tectonic density of the city hall, Roman and Augsburg round arches spanned the space between the pillars of the arcades and the entrance hall.

Above these were the slender rectangles of the large windows of the hall's basilica, which could accommodate 20,000 people.

The tower had a special significance. The simple tower shaft was topped by a richly structured crown, which ended with an eagle on a ball*, again a deliberate reference to the Augsburg tradition.

The Perlachturm and the twin towers of the town hall, Elias Holl's magnificent architectural achievements, served as models.

We carried out experiments and removed the tower from the model of the square – impossible! The square lacked tension, and despite their accentuation, the structures of the complex were dependent on each other.

Soon the architectural drawings were completed in every detail, and the workshop staff began work on the final wooden model. The completed plans and the finished model—I showed it to Adolf Hitler in my Munich studio—met with his full approval.

"That's Augsburg!" he said. The effort put into the form and design, mostly in the evenings and at night after the day's work, had now brought the hoped-for success.

The task in Augsburg was a challenge I had to take on: I had started out as a young architect in Augsburg, became a Nazi in this district, and was commissioned by Adolf Hitler to design the Forum and thus the architectural fabric of the district. Preparations for construction began. After consulting with Adolf Hitler, whom I considered the actual client, I awarded contracts to freelance artists ahead of schedule, but
as a precaution, to freelance artists: the sculptor Wineberger designed a fountain for the south-eastern end of the hall and mosaics with the coats of arms of the cities in the district for the attic frieze; the Munich sculptor Bleeker, as the culmination of his life's work, created the sculpture "Energy," a horse tamer. Wackerle and Kolle were also commissioned to create sculptures for the walls of the square, and the painter Weiß was commissioned to create the frescoes in the entrance hall. The donors were Adolf Hitler and the party.

on the walls of the square, and the painter Weiß for the frescoes in the entrance hall. The donors were Adolf Hitler and the party.
The city of Augsburg took over construction management for the entire complex. I missed the energetic enthusiasm I had experienced a few years earlier in Weimar, but later learned the circumstances. With the outbreak of war, preparations for the construction project came to an end here as well.
The urban design of Augsburg shows the intensity and imagination with which Adolf Hitler approached construction projects, down to the last detail, and how he strove to design public spaces in a way that reflected the character of the city.
and how he strove to design the spaces in such a way that they corresponded to the character of the city. He often told me why he was so passionate about building, always in new ways, but always in a convincing manner:
The arbitrariness that has prevailed in urban design for generations contradicts our National Socialist view of life and our sense of community. Because we recognize this, we are justified in changing it,
and it is up to me to set the example. The signs of a new way of thinking and feeling are best expressed in urban planning and architecture.
But, he added, it was not enough for the client to have ideas and visions of how this reorganization of the urban organism should be designed; he needed an architect who understood him and was connected to him.
Even more than when working on the square in Weimar, I experienced Adolf Hitler's creative, imaginative, and at the same time disciplined approach to design in the
Forum Augsburg. I got to know him as a leader who wanted to express political, social, and cultural thinking and feeling in spatial terms, in urban planning.
What can you tell me about Augsburg? It was in the winter of 1939/40 when Adolf Hitler asked me this question.
All I knew, and this I had learned indirectly, was that all preparations for the construction project had been suspended since the beginning of the war. After he approved the plans and gave his consent to the construction, I would have placed the orders with the freelance artists and assigned them their tasks.
. I'm sure you agree that Professor Bleeker should be allowed to finish his work because of his age, despite the war?
Otherwise, I was no longer involved in the construction project, right? No, the city itself reserved the right to manage the construction, which I thought was right. I had to concentrate on the "redesign of Munich." No, I was not asked anymore, although I could have given some advice based on my experience in Weimar.
"So you weren't involved in drawing up the construction costs? Do you approve of the list that was presented to me?" asked Adolf Hitler.

"No."
"That's strange. Without the architect's involvement, I can't imagine how the construction costs could have been calculated! And the same applies to the determination of the individual construction phases for the implementation. You know that I suggested at the time that this large construction project be divided into different phases according to logic and requirements, with a total construction period of about 15 years.
He had promised the Gauleiter and the mayor personal donations for the hall, the tower, and also for sculptures, and the party would of course pay for its share of the Gau building, as would the German Labor Front for its share and the Reich for the rooms for the labor service. This also applied to the development costs, which would be determined on a pro rata basis. And industry could surely afford its share of the
building use, just like the private builders who wanted to build on the new street.
Based on an estimate of the total costs, the construction costs for the first phase of construction, lasting approximately five years, were specified. With developers of this kind and a construction project of this scale, it was likely that banks and savings banks would also be willing to participate in the form of mortgages and interim loans.
The people of Augsburg did things differently! Instead of thinking about how to finance the project, as they did in Weimar, they presented him with a total cost estimate, including the usual municipal services, down to the last manhole cover! All in all, it came to around 150 million. And then the whining and complaining began, saying that this was far beyond their means – of course, when you look at it that way!
And now the smart alecks had come up with a great idea: "The Führer" would secure the entire 150 million, burden the inhabitants of the Reich with it, and give us Augsburgers a binding document to that effect!
This is then served up to me by the mayor responsible at every suitable and unsuitable opportunity as the only possible financing plan!
No cathedral, no minster, no building of any significance would have been left to us if the citizens had not voluntarily taken on the construction costs, mostly over generations! They couldn't burden the inhabitants of the "Reich" with the construction costs either.
Suddenly the question arose: Giesler, did they pay you your fee?
The reimbursement of expenses for my employees and for the mo-
The payment was made by the city treasury. I have not requested any fees and will not request any fees for my services to date.
And why?

After all, it was the district I felt connected to, and a fee request could have been misinterpreted, because an architect from Augsburg had been commissioned to design the city hall before me. I said this deliberately, because it seemed to be my fate to always replace someone else. That's how it was in Weimar, in Augsburg, on the Obersalzberg, in Munich, and then in Linz! I continued:
The mayor understood me, but what came next was not quite fitting for a city with a great tradition like Augsburg.
And what happened? asked Adolf Hitler.
They sent me a glass bowl packed in wood wool, with a ladle. The factory mark 'WMF', Württembergische Metallwaren-Fabrik, was on the alpaca foot. I have nothing against this company, but it has nothing to do with Augsburg. The mayor assured me that I would receive a golden ring with the Augsburg coat of arms. I asked him to refrain from doing so, which visibly offended him.
A candlestick for the table, made by the Augsburg silversmiths, would have made me very happy, it didn't have to be a candelabra.
Adolf Hitler laughed and then said seriously: What remains of the grand attitude of the citizens of Augsburg who had Elias Holl build the town hall, the Perlachturm tower, and the armory? Who decorated the streets and squares with fountains? Where are the 'royal merchants', the Welsers and, above all, the Fuggers, who burned the emperor's promissory notes in the fireplace, they say on cinnamon bark?
In times of war, buildings cannot be constructed anyway; we will see what happens after the war. But we must think of the city of Augsburg and not of temporary mayors, although I do not wish to underestimate their conscientiousness and paternalistic thriftiness.

The High School on Lake Chiemsee

We met in the morning at Adolf Hitler's apartment on Prinzregentenplatz in Munich. It was February 1938. The evening before, Reichsleiter Rosenberg had asked me to attend this meeting. The agenda was the program and architectural design of the institute for training party leaders, which would be superior to the Ordensburgen (Order Castles).

I had already attempted to design this institute once before at Rosenberg's request. His specifications resulted in a modest building plan.

for a modest building complex emerged. A quiet, enclosed structure with two side wings, it could be built on a peninsula on Lake Chiemsee. Based on sketchy plans, a plasticine model was created to give an overview of the design. The complex took on the appearance of a modern Upper Danube monastery with Bavarian influences and corresponded

to the vision of Alfred Rosenberg for a religious or research community.

Rosenberg went on to say that Dr. Ley had also been involved with this institute and that he was striving for a grand solution. The architect Professor Klotz had drawn up plans and a model for it. We would discuss the layout and construction ideas tomorrow in front of the Führer, who would then make the decision. Incidentally, he had given the institute the name "Hohe Schule" (High School) and chosen Chiemsee as its location. At his request, Klotz and I were to attend the meeting. This meant that Klotz and I would be competing against each other.

Again, I thought, and then said to Rosenberg that with our design sketches and small model, we were hopelessly outclassed. This design would not do justice to the obligatory name "Hohe Schule"; the Führer had set the standard for this building with the name itself, 138

This pointed to a "major solution." We would be well advised not to present the current plan at all, I concluded our discussion.
This was confirmed the next morning after the discussion and the decision that followed. We were as far apart as the living room would allow. No director could have staged the scene more vividly, no dramaturge could have expressed the intellectual differences more clearly. People and opinions stood as if in an isosceles triangle, with Ley and Rosenberg and their architects at the corners of the base and Adolf Hitler at the apex, attentively following the debate.
He did not reject anything that the two opponents put forward, but when he then presented his own view, everything had a new, convincing ring to it. Never before had I felt Adolf Hitler's superiority so strongly.
He agreed with Rosenberg that calm seclusion could also be achieved in the "grand solution" he considered appropriate through sensible planning. The restrained arrangement of the ancillary school buildings, which ensured a lively relationship between research, teaching, and education, had to find convincing architectural expression in the primacy of the actual "Hohen Schule" (high school).
Even with this brief outline, the image of the entire complex took shape in my mind as an architect. Adolf Hitler continued:
He saw the "Higher School" as more than just the keystone of the vault of education, training, and ultimately the selection of party leaders; the "Higher School" should serve the nation and, beyond the walls of the Order's castles, be open to all colleges and universities. It was necessary to train an elite that could meet the challenges of our time in all areas of the nation's political, cultural, economic, and intellectual life.
After a path marked by idealism and sacrifice, the fifth year of National Socialist reconstruction was now beginning. The errors and disintegration, the consequences of degeneration and decadence from the 19th century and the Weimar democracy had not yet been overcome. Everywhere there is a lack of intellectually educated, creative, and also combative men in the present and, as far as can be seen, for the future:
The people are at the center of our concept of the state; in this respect, we are republicans, professing believers in the people's state. The overall historical achievement of our people testifies to its racial values. And yet it has always been the great individuals, the creative people, to whom we owe the cultural image of our people. This will also be the case in the future. Our task must be, like a magnet attracts iron, to draw to ourselves everything that shows character, everything in terms of talent, even in terms of individuality, to ourselves as a select group!

The task of the "Hohen Schule" will be to provide them, after they have proven themselves in the party schools, in their professions, and after completing their studies, with the spatial and intellectual conditions for further development, clearing the way for them to become effective and influential. Adolf Hitler addressed us architects: He said that "spatial conditions" also included the design of the "Higher School." It must correspond to the status of this institution. The design of this complex was also a political task, as it had to represent the unity of the party and the state. Dr. Ley emphasized: 'Our plans are in accordance with your decision, my Führer, and they also meet your requirements. The plans and model can be presented today. Adolf Hitler looked at Rosenberg and me, I shook my head and showed him my empty hands. 'I will wait until you can present the plans to me, too. Surely that must be possible by May? Rosenberg agreed.
We took another look at the Chiemsee map, which showed the location of the "Hohen Schule" on the north-east shore, then we were dismissed.
We architects had not spoken a word. The disappointment was written all over Ley and Klotz's faces; they had expected a final decision in favor of their plans.
Rosenberg was calm, as was his nature. "Come, Giesler, we will have dinner together and discuss everything."
I spoke about my excessive workload, saying that I could have managed the "small solution," but... Rosenberg interrupted me: "What do I think of the decision in principle?" I considered it correct in accordance with the task, the rank, and the name, and I explained this in detail.
Rosenberg agreed and said: "Then you must enjoy this unique task."
Of course, I said, if this plan were a one-off in the sense that no other tasks would suffer as a result... He, Rosenberg, who had studied architecture in Moscow, should know how much time and energy construction sites demand from those responsible. And while Klotz had already finalized the "big solution"—even at the location chosen by the Führer—I would have to start from scratch.
Admittedly, after Adolf Hitler's introduction, I had a clear idea of what was expected of me. Is this really how the "Hohe Schule" should be designed? After all, the development and, above all, the model require time. Why would such a tight deadline be set for such an important building, which is supposed to represent both the state and the party, and why is this competition limited to two architects? Especially with this unique task, I would miss Speer's participation, whom I have never seen in a competition!
Rosenberg had no answer. The next question was different: Why

the Führer chose Lake Chiemsee as the location for the "Hohe Schule" and even specified the exact building site? Access by road and rail would be difficult and costly, and the sewerage system would have to be extended beyond Seebruck to the Alz. Utilities and settlements would have to be planned, energy and heating issues would have to be addressed, and Dr. Todt would have to be involved in the development planning as a matter of urgency. That only outlined some of the problems, so the question remained: Why Lake Chiemsee?

One thing I know for sure, said Rosenberg, even before the motorway was built, since the Berghof has existed, the Führer has driven around Lake Chiemsee, partly on dirt roads. I now suspect that the special occasion, the trigger for this choice of location, is the Jesuit Order's intention to establish a Catholic university in the Salzburg area. The Führer wants to counter this in his own way: with the Party's school. As of today, we are aware that it will be the 'high school' of the Party and the state.

Initially, after the seizure of power, the intentions seemed to be compensated for by the generous concordat, but that was only an appearance. Perhaps there are other reasons for this location; you know, the Führer sticks to his decisions once they have been made.

I also drove around Lake Chiemsee and looked out over the expanse of the lake from the south side to the chosen location on the north-east shore. The building would be visible from the highway for 15 kilometers, with a view across the lake at a distance of 8 to 15 kilometers. Behind it, the view was lost in the gently rolling landscape. I found my ideas about the design of the "High School" confirmed and began planning.

Then, on March 12, 1938, the Ostmark was annexed to the Reich. Soon after, I spoke with Rosenberg: The "special occasion" for choosing the location of the "Hohen Schule" had now been rendered moot by the annexation; would the Chiemsee location still be retained? Certainly, said Rosenberg, because the direction had remained the same and the situation had not changed. I continued with my plans.

In order to determine the scale, I began with plasticine models that made Lake Chiemsee and the edge of the Alpine foothills easy to see, and then increased the scale of further models in order to determine the horizontal extension and height of the building's wings according to their importance, always with a view of the entire lake and the distant views from the highway. After completing the planning, I noted the following explanation:

The name "Hohe Schule" (High School) signifies commitment and program. The Führer determined the location and design of the building. The building site, a protruding headland on the northeast shore of Lake Chiemsee, required, among other reasons, that the "Hohe Schule" be oriented from north to south with a view across the lake to the foothills of the Alps, with

the Kampenwand mountain about 20 kilometers away. The Munich-Salzburg motorway runs along the southern shore of Lake Chiemsee, providing an unobstructed view of the planned building across the wide lake for about 15 kilometers. The aim was therefore to express the "Hohe Schule" by combining the building masses and creating a dominant vertical rise, while at the same time achieving a long-distance effect. A special motorway junction and a railway line, both from the Traunstein area, lead to the reception area in the north of the "Hohen Schule." This is where the building axis begins, extending 1,700 meters south to the high hall. The Adolf Hitler School and the building complexes for the party's training courses are located along this axis in a relaxed and self-contained manner. Set back, the complex now becomes denser and forms the actual "Hohen Schule," culminating in a final flourish, like a demonstration: the tower building with the high hall. The boat harbor and sports facilities are located on the east side. The necessary housing and supply buildings and facilities are shielded by trees and planned for the northeastern area.

This avoided any negative impact on the lake, as the 'Hohe Schule' only breaks through the 10 kilometers of natural shoreline of Lake Chiemsee on the east side by 500 meters.

In a later revision at the FHQu Winniza, I staggered the building structures on the south side. This shortened the building front facing Lake Chiemsee to 300 meters, condensed it, and shaped it into architectural sculpture.

On May 10, 1938, Adolf Hitler chose my design. At the same time, he commissioned me to plan the "German Buildings" for the 1942 World's Fair in Rome.

He had returned from Florence that morning after his state visit to Italy and went straight to see the models of the "Hohen Schule" that had been set up. I was surprised by the spontaneity of his decision. Later, I saw this in the context of his impressions of Rome.

But on May 10, 1938, Adolf Hitler not only made the decision about the "Hohen Schule"; he also made a decision about me, of which I had no inkling. It concerned the redesign of Munich. This was later followed by plans and designs for his hometown of Linz.

When, a year later, I was working on the redesign of Munich and the integration of the party buildings into the cityscape, I spoke to Adolf Hitler about the location of the "Hohe Schule." The reason was the decision to leave Lake Chiemsee as a natural lake without any further construction. In addition, I was daunted by the development costs that would be incurred at a location in Munich. Here, everything was already in place: the transport facilities, the economic infrastructure, energy and heating, residential buildings, the wide range of cultural facilities, and the direct connection to party leadership. Adolf Hitler listened to me calmly:

No, Giesler, you of all people should understand me; the 'Hohe Schule' has a different status; away from the city, it claims its place in the open countryside. Certainly, the city is stimulating, but at the same time it is restless and distracting; this is characterized by the appearance of the fluctuating, rootless intellectual. Admittedly, it may be easier to develop the building complex in an urban area, but to integrate the 'Hohe Schule' into the cityscape? No, that requires
But does that mean new plans are needed? No way! I'm sticking with my decision to go with Chiemsee and your design!
The "Hohe Schule" should be located in the natural, unspoiled landscape. Added to this is the special character of Lake Chiemsee, the wide horizon that conveys a sense of tranquility, and the great distance with a view of the mountains*.

The Augsburg Forum seen from the station side. Town hall with tower? Gauleitung. Model 1938.

The Hohe Schule on Lake Chiemsee seen from the lake side. Model 1938.

The Hohe Schule on Lake Chiemsee seen from the land side. Model 1938.

Towards the end of 1938, I received the certificate of my appointment as Chief Building Administrator for the Capital of the Movement and the decree on the redesign of Munich. I used the quiet time before the turn of the year to study the architectural history of the city of Munich in greater depth than I had done during my studies, as far as the documents available to me allowed. These included illustrations of the wooden model of the city that Jakob Sandtner had made for the Duke of Bavaria in 1570. The old east-west salt road is clearly marked on it.
There were also photographs of the magnificent city model by the Seitz brothers from the mid-19th century, which I had often admired in the National Museum and which inspired me to set up my own model workshop, as well as reproductions of the general plans of the "Royal Building Commission" under Sckell and Karl von Fischer, and the historical city maps from the Maillinger Collection.
The Seitz model and the urban planning of the early 19th century revealed the ingenious architectural initiatives of Crown Prince Ludwig, which led to the conception of Ludwigstrasse, Brienner Strasse, and Königsplatz, and thus to the buildings designed by architects Gärtner and Klenze.
I also read Wiedenhofer's sober reports on Munich's architectural development and on the urban expansion plans and building regulations that Theodor Fischer had drawn up at the turn of the century. Then I took a look at the portfolios containing the works of the great master builders and architects. They had shaped the image of the city of Munich. The works of the sculptors and painters who had shaped the unique phenomenon of this city's culture—even in the illustrations, the connection became clear. With rare continuity over centuries, these magnificent achievements became a unified whole thanks to their high standing in Munich.
In later conversations, I was able to ascertain how thoroughly and accurately Adolf Hitler was familiar with the architectural history of this city and its artists.
I began my work. In the last days of 1938, I determined the organizational structure of the General Building Council's office, which was now to be established. I divided the areas of work into three departments: planning, implementation, and law and administration. I subdivided these areas of work into sections.
In addition to managing the office as a whole, I also took over the management of "Planning."
I appointed the civil engineer Gimple, an energetic and determined employee with immense stamina, to head the "Implementation" department. He had already proven himself on my construction sites in Weimar.
For the management of the legal and administrative department, I found in the

Legal advisor to the City of Munich, Dr. Praun, was the ideal person for the job. He became a personal role model and inspiration to all employees of the department. Some departments were of primary importance and significance for the overall planning from the outset. I entrusted these to capable employees of my architectural office:
the important urban traffic planning, then the extensive and varied industrial planning under Zeibig* and Wölfel, as well as the green space planning
with the recreational facilities, schools, sports facilities, and exhibition grounds under v. Freyhold*.
All other departments in my planning department developed as a result of planning requirements, such as for the Reichsbahn buildings. and the Reichspost, then the design office for the main station and the Ostbahnhof, the department for residential buildings and settlements, the department for the inner city and special tasks for public and private developers, the department for building permits and the registration of vacant lots.
My aim was to streamline the office of the Chief Building Officer, not to inflate it into a bureaucratic apparatus, and not to allow the individual departments to become unwieldy. I wanted to create a lively working community, and that is what it became, bursting with ideas, with every employee feeling committed to the great task at hand.
At the beginning of 1939, I gathered information from all authorities, industry and trade associations that were involved in the redesign of Munich, affected by it, or had to be taken into account as developers.
I started with the building authorities of the city of Munich. The outstanding personality, who also demonstrated his conciseness in his presentation, was the head of the civil engineering office, Professor Stecher. His expertise was unique. Thanks to his loyal cooperation, the planned "Civil Engineering" department of the office could be dispensed with.
I also got to know the city's original advisor on railway matters, engineer Halter, a professor at the Technical University, during the informative lectures, and I listened to his original explanations with great interest.
He recognized only pedestrians as legitimate individualists in traffic,
and rejected the car. Above all, however, as a "true Munich native," which he also represented in his appearance and demeanor, he was of the opinion that the old main station was now in exactly the right place, right next to the old city center, and that, in his opinion, it should stay there.
Ironically, this was the only thing that suited him! Get rid of the cars, then there will be enough space, he said, but this has not been achieved.

The basic concept of the Reichsbahn plans for mass transportation and the railway facilities as part of the redesign was generous and unique. I was familiar with this concept from Adolf Hitler's speech on May 22, 1938, from the information he gave me directly, and from Bormann's explanations of the Führer's decisions. From later conversations
, I became convinced that the ideas for this modern concept came from Adolf Hitler himself.

This concept and the ideas and considerations underlying it were then explained to me in a calm and matter-of-fact manner by Reichsbahn President Koll. This was followed by a presentation of the detailed plans by his representative Franz, a skilled railway engineer from the Ministry of Transport, who, however, lacked the president's authoritative manner. I interrupted him during his presentation: "Are these qualified, final decisions?" Yes, he replied, our plans are based on the Ministry's overall planning and are binding. The implementation plans with explanations will be submitted to you for signature at short notice. We kindly request your approval and authorization to proceed so that we can meet the deadlines.

I now knew what was in store for me! Because even from these presentations which were initially based solely on system plans, I realized that the railway facilities were not integrated into the urban fabric; they had developed without consideration for other urban planning concerns and had thus become an end in themselves. The generous design of the new railway facilities, which Adolf Hitler had particularly emphasized in his speech on May 22, 1938, had become bogged down in details. Under no circumstances would I approve the implementation plans that had been presented to me in their current form. A conflict with the Reich Ministry of Transport was therefore inevitable. My situation was made even more difficult by the deadlines that would result from my rejection. I now regretted not having taken up the challenge of redesigning Munich earlier.

With each new piece of information, the discrepancies in the urban planning context became more apparent, including in the already completed plans for the motorway ring road, whose bridge construction in the northwestern section had already begun before I was commissioned.

This important traffic belt, with a diameter of 22 kilometers, was too narrowly strapped in an east-west direction for Munich.
in an east-west direction. If it remained as it was, urban interests would suffer, the pressure of space would soon break through this ring and flood it, thereby distorting the compelling idea behind my condition: "Here city, here country." The city would sprawl, as it had in the 19th century.

I transferred all the information to clear, transparent plans, in which

I marked the constraints and dissonances in color. Then I determined the priorities:
People in the urban community and the design of their environment The preservation of historical substance
The integration and organization of all necessary functions in the city administration
This is how I laid the foundations for the coordinated revision of all previous individual plans. The decree gave me the authority to do so.
The first decisions were made, and the Reich and state authorities, the city, and the building permit authority, known in Munich as the "Lokalbaukommission," were waiting. The developers for industry and commerce, for residential buildings and housing estates were waiting.
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The building restriction areas were demarcated and legally secured by "area declarations" in order to avoid planning errors and not to hinder the urban redevelopment measures.
This marked the beginning of the city's planning in accordance with the mandate I had been given and Adolf Hitler's ideas.
At the same time, this marked the beginning of arduous work and daily exertion until late into the evening. The office of the Chief Building Officer was literally inundated with the backlog of building applications. Among them were several military construction projects of the utmost urgency. These in particular contradicted the already established guidelines for the redevelopment plan, the fixed subway routes, and the traffic areas. This resulted in arbitrary violations of building lines and disregard for clearance areas, all of which was compounded by poor architecture that lacked even a minimum of restraint.
I refused to grant permission, and the discord was there right from the start, escalating into threats against me. So I not only had myself to consider, but also the department. It went so far that the Führer had to intervene: "You have my decree and my trust!" A phone call from his military aide was enough, it was that simple; but precious working days were wasted on defense, which were then lacking in the design. For this major defense construction project, I hired a qualified freelance architect with whom I discussed the urban planning issues and coordinated the details.
But the concern remained: What would the future hold, how much manpower and time would be taken away from the department by the need for constant reviews? Would the department have to be expanded, and where would the new staff come from? It was not enough for them to be good architects; they also had to have experience and be familiar with the nature and character of the city.
I discussed this with my colleagues, and then came the surprising but logical suggestion: appeal to qualified architects in the Munich area and ask them all to volunteer their services.

surprising but logical suggestion emerged: appeal to qualified architects in the Munich area and ask them all to volunteer their services.
the redesign of the city; depending on where they live or have their studios, they are assigned an area of the city to look after.
It was the employee who had previously managed my design office in Weimar and had proven himself in a wide range of construction tasks who made this suggestion. One day, he continued, you will commission these architects with the redesign; the sooner they become familiar with the objectives of the redesign, the better.
That was the solution, and it allowed a community of planning and design to emerge that did justice to the task and to the city of Munich.
As I was writing this down, it occurred to me to ask the employee from back then to contribute an article. He was to explain how the principle of collaborative urban design was conceived. He willingly sent his report and wrote the following:
I didn't mention any other names in the entire text except for Bestelmeyer – not even my own. But I did write down about 50 names – some of whom are now highly respected and hold positions of authority – who were involved in some way with the General Building Council in the context described.
However, I did include something that struck me as unusual at the time, namely the involvement of young planners in decisions on construction projects by other authorities or institutions. This was not common practice, but it was by no means done according to the motto "divide and rule," but rather with the ideal intention that you described as "meaningful activity."
Here is his report:
"The use of freelance staff and the purpose of involving architects of trust in the urban area.
The area of interest of the office of the Chief Planning Officer for the Capital of the Movement basically covered the actual city area of Munich, but also included landscape, settlement, and industrial areas in the neighboring area, which either had to be directly affected by the new construction and redevelopment plans or had to be included in these plans from the perspective of the growing city.
Within this area of interest in the broadest sense, there were of course large and small urban areas where redevelopment measures were neither necessary nor expected. Here, the sole responsibility for all urban planning and individual properties, as well as their treatment under building law, remained with the specialist authorities of the city of Munich or the district offices in the outlying areas.

Lake Starnberg was an exception. At Hitler's special request, the lake, its shores, and ultimately the buildings were included in the area of interest of the General Building Council, which delegated its authority to the artistic director of the Bavarian administration, "Schlösser, Gärten und Seen" (Castles, Gardens, and Lakes). The meaning and intention were set as a long-term goal: free shores along the lake.
The area of Munich's city center, the city core and the immediately adjacent urban areas, was naturally a region of a special kind and required careful attention with regard to its urban layout and architectural expression: After all, it was home to the heart of the historic city, whose protection and surrounding walls had been repeatedly demolished and
to which new districts were connected by clearly laid out streets. The generous opening to the north and northwest was achieved under the spirited Crown Prince and later King Ludwig I with his architects and landscape designers. This gave rise to the magnificent buildings of the 19th century. It was here that the image of the city of Munich – known throughout the world – was most pronounced, but its preservation was also constantly under pressure from the inexorable forces of time!
The plans for the redevelopment of the city center now had to be linked to this, logically and organically connected with it and developed further. However, all types of construction planning in the inner city had to be aligned with this goal, with the small having to be linked to the large and the individual to the whole in a way that did not devalue or impair the quality of this "image of Munich."
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The Local Building Commission, an authority established by the state on December 14, 1804, which since that time had been responsible for all building regulations, was required by decree to submit all building plans within areas of interest to the General Building Council, in accordance with the historical task assigned to the Commission by the King, "so that further disturbances could be prevented." This also included building plans for any construction projects in the inner city area.
As a rule, adaptation to the higher-level planning was necessary, which in the urban planning sector had to be carried out first by the General Building Authority, as this was responsible for the planning of new construction and redevelopment. The necessary
necessary adaptation and coordination of construction projects to the higher-level planning was carried out by the staff who were already working in the various planning departments of the Chief Building Officer.
However, it could also happen that submitted designs for buildings did not fully meet design requirements or were located within a prominent, significant urban ensemble where more careful handling of the design was necessary out of consideration for valuable existing buildings.

. Taking this construction advisory role into their own hands and making it effective would have required more staff in the Chief Building Officer's office, i.e., more planning staff, which would have unnecessarily inflated and fragmented the existing small and effective planning apparatus for the redesign and would have caused an inappropriate delay in solving the actual task.

For this construction consulting work, the chief building officer enlisted the help of freelance architects in Munich who were highly respected in the architectural community for their personalities and abilities. They were joined by leading experts in the field of monument preservation. They became the General Building Council's "trusted architects" and, in a collegial manner, provided unorthodox advice to the architects planning individual buildings in their efforts to achieve a design in keeping with the value of the property, which was then submitted to the local building commission for approval in accordance with building regulations.

This approach, born of necessity, also had an idealistic significance: to interest the architects of trust in the new design and redevelopment of "their" city of Munich, to inform them about it and to activate them; and some plans were stimulated and enriched in the process. The result was generally satisfactory and beneficial to both sides.

This was one side of a purposeful and active collaboration between prominent figures among Munich's independent architects. The collaboration of consultants in other comprehensive planning areas such as green space, industrial, and traffic planning, in building construction and building management, and in the field of urban planning was also important.

The economic impact will certainly be made clear elsewhere, as will the commissioning of freelance architects to plan new buildings as part of the redesign of the "capital of movement."

In view of the enormous tasks that had to be accomplished under great strain, the Chief Building Officer also secured the services of many highly respected artists and designers working at public institutions who were responsible for training young people in the fine arts or design. In addition to professors and lecturers at the Technical University and both academies, these included the directors and staff of master schools and commercial technical colleges who were involved in the General Building Council's remit in a broader sense, either as consultants or already as practitioners. They designed their teaching assignments in line with the objectives for the near and distant future.

A particular concern of the General Building Council was the involvement of young, open-minded planners in the redesign, who had worked as employees or

as employees of various authorities under their heads of office and had developed their own expression and style. These architects were to be found at the Reich Governor's Office, the Supreme Building Authority in Bavaria, the City of Munich, the Reichsbahn, the Reichspost, the Luftwaffekommando, the Generalkommando, the Reichsbank, and so on.

They were called in for the general planning meetings of the General Building Council—there were, of course, questions of prestige here and there—and their participation expanded the circle of interested, informed, and active experts.

In summary, with the aim of solving the major construction problems of Munich's redevelopment and redesign, the free play of creative forces was most strongly linked in a community of creative people. This community documented its comradely affiliation with the department by attending the General Building Council's chamber music evenings in the hall of the National Museum on Prinzregentenstraße.

This community also manifested itself, together with many other personalities from public and cultural life, in that Staats-
akt, which was held in the summer of 1942 in honor of the late first great architect of trust, who had worked loyally and selflessly with the General Building Officer: Dr. h. c. German Bestelmeyer, Director of the Academy of Fine Arts and Professor of Architecture at the Technical University. This state ceremony took place in the magnificent building of the University of Munich, which he had once created." So much for the report from my former colleague. Born out of necessity, the idealistic community of architects of trust was created. They worked selflessly with the "General Building Council," who had the authority to implement what had been jointly developed.

The urban planning task was set, the greatest challenge for all those called upon to design. After the war, the task was still recognized, but its unique significance was no longer appreciated.

The east-west axis: introduced by Adolf Hitler in 1938/39

The relocation of Munich's main railway station to the west had been under discussion for years, said Adolf Hitler when he explained to me the most urgent task of Munich's redesign. Opinions differed as to how far west the station should be moved. Ultimately, as in Stuttgart, a small, unsatisfactory solution would probably have been reached.

Years ago, the station there had been moved about 500 meters to the north, but it had been left as a terminus station, which could probably be explained by the spatial conditions. However, the space gained by the relocation had not been used to organize the urban space and streets in a sensible and traffic-friendly manner.
During the period when Landsberg was a fortress, he had studied the railway systems in Berlin and Munich. He had read a press report at the time stating that a competition was being planned in Berlin to redesign the urban area around the Anhalter and Potsdamer railway stations. He continued:
I drew a city map showing the two terminus stations combined into a central through station in the south with a bypass around Tempelhofer Feld; this was matched by a station in the north of the city center. This freed up large areas of valuable land in the heart of the city that had previously been taken up by the tracks of the terminus stations. The prerequisite for
a road system befitting the capital of the Reich. This is how the road intersection that consolidated the urban space came into being, and it was around this time that I began to envision the redesign of Berlin.
For Munich, too, the flow of traffic offered by a through station was a priority: even then, he had anticipated the annexation of the Ostmark to the Reich. An increased and all-round flow of traffic was to be expected, which the current old and spatially very limited terminus station would no longer be able to cope with. The track layout alone therefore determined the only possible location for the new main station. The inner-city traffic problems could only be solved by a generous underground railway system, which is why the distance of the new main station from the city center was not a significant factor.
As in Berlin, we would also gain the large site of the abandoned terminus station with its widely spread-out tracks in Munich. Cut off from the supply tracks, the unsightly industrial and warehouse buildings along the entrance to Munich would also be eliminated. This site would also benefit the Große Straße with its buildings.
Adolf Hitler hesitated for a moment, then began again:
But I think I'd better start my description with the old town center. Surrounding this medieval core is a magnificent, interlocking series of squares and spacious streets dating from the early 19th century, curving in a crescent shape from north to south. Three main road systems radiate out from this sequence of spaces. From Odeonsplatz to the north, the Ludwigstraße starts out wide and spacious, narrowing as it continues along Leopoldstraße, until it finally regains its stature at its destination, the Nuremberg-Berlin motorway.
To the south, from Sendlinger-Tor-Platz, it is Lindwurmstraße, which also

the same narrowing, until finally Olympia-Straße reaches its destination at Lake Starnberg and the mountains, befitting its significance.
Now to the center of this crescent-shaped space: Karls-Tor with Stachus, the former end of the historic Salzstraße, the important exit to the west. The wedge-shaped building between Prielmayerstraße and Bayerstraße sits like a plug in the flow of traffic. Here, the stunted development of the street layout is immediately apparent following the magnificent sequence of spaces. This stunted development not only hinders individual traffic, but also the terminus station, resulting in unbearable congestion.
It is therefore necessary that this wedge-shaped building be demolished as part of a genuine redesign. This will also open up the view to
"Großen Straße," but also to a monument that is to be built here! Adolf Hitler pointed to the old station halls:
"The monument to the party," I could also say, a monument that symbolizes a decision made with willpower and conviction, the representation of an idea! Giesler, you will understand me: it was here that I set foot on Munich soil after the lost war and had a vision and made a decision!
I sketched my idea: a tall rectangular column stands on a broad base and bears the emblem of the standard. Speer worked out a design based on this sketch and had a model made. He will give you these documents to include in your overall plan.
The column is 500 meters from the Karls-Tor and Stachus. After the old railway station buildings have been cleared, there will be a space of about 300 meters between Arnulf- and Bayer-
street and approximately 400 meters in an east-west direction. It is therefore possible to construct a building around the monument that is in keeping with its scale without restricting the cross-sections of Arnulfstraße and Bayerstraße or the traffic area on
"Große Straße."
The enclosure could house the party archives. We have time
carefully consider the design, as the construction of the monument marks the completion of Munich's redevelopment.
I have set the cross-section of Große Straße at 120 meters, and the length of the street from the center of the monument square to the new main railway station is 2,500 meters. I have already made the following decisions: At the Theresienwiese, the street widens on one side, to the north, toward Arnulfstraße, forming a square. The new Munich Opera House is to be built on this slightly elevated square. A terraced staircase arrangement will prevent the recessed opera facade from overlapping.

I have planned a spacious hotel on the western side of the square with direct side passages to the opera foyer and, opposite, on the eastern side of the square, also with this direct connection to the opera, restaurants on various floors.
Both buildings will have entrances at street level, with terraces in front, fountains, water features, and flowers in stone settings. This square must become a lively center of the new street.
In the southern light, the curved portico of the opera house stands out, even on this scale, like a square wall. And from there, the view extends south across the busy new street to the large open space of the Theresienwiese,
which is almost two kilometers deep.
Below the opera square, you can see parking spaces for cars, with ramp access from Große Straße and Arnulfstraße. These must be sufficient for the opera house, the hotel, the restaurants, and cafés. In the future, immediate but unobtrusive parking spaces for cars will be a matter of course. My floor plan for the opera house also provides for direct access to the lower foyer.
Brinkmann is working on the opera house. You will accompany me to his studio to look at the plans and the model. Brinkmann will also give you the necessary documents for the overall planning.
Now back to Große Straße: it must be designed without any intersections! It is up to you, Giesler, to decide how to border this street space with buildings on either side. Based on the specified street width, you will determine the proportions, the building heights, and thus the number of stories. You will specify the ground floor and the main cornice for all buildings along the new street.
The overall shape of the street space is the primary consideration, and this shape will be determined by you. I would also like you to work out the dominant accents. Once these specifications have been determined for the entire east-west axis, we must strive for a variety of individual designs for the individual buildings themselves. Commission architects whom you are convinced will be able to integrate their personal style into the overall design: I would like to avoid uniformity in the design of the buildings on Ludwigstraße as much as I would like to avoid stylistic reminiscences of Vienna's Ringstraße!
I have drawn the cross-section with the division of the 120-meter-wide road space and planned sidewalks with a width of 20 meters each. I would like these sidewalks to extend into the street space like terraces and be shielded from the roadways by double rows of trees.
A wide central reservation divides the road space and reinforces the directions of travel. The Champs-Elysées does not have this, but the pictures give me the impression that the road becomes chaotic when traffic flows in both directions without any separation.

directions of traffic flow into each other without any separation. We also need the central reservation for special occasions such as receptions and parades. The carriageways will have slow and fast lanes.
In addition to the opera house, the Opemhotel, and the restaurant-café building on Opernplatz, I have determined the locations of four additional buildings on the new station square: the Reichsbahn headquarters on the southern side of the square and the Reichspost headquarters on the northern side. The side boundaries of the square, opposite the main station but with their main facades facing Große Straße, are formed by high-rise buildings. The side wings of the high-rise buildings take up the main cornice that is mandatory for the street.
The main building, which is set back by one room depth, should be developed vertically to the horizontal street buildings, with approximately 20 to 25 stories, depending on space requirements and proportions, but both buildings should be of the same height.
The high-rise building on the north side is intended as a publishing house and printing plant for the Völkischer Beobachter. With its side wings, it encloses the halls with the rotary presses on the Arnulfstraße side. On the ground floor of the high-rise, which is at street level, I would like to see a large information hall with an unobstructed view of the printing plant's machine halls. There should also be a tunnel connection to the bus station and the loading platforms of the main railway station. The high-rise building opposite will be a KdF hotel* with 2,000 beds. Here, too, the side wings enclose the necessary courtyards, without which such an operation would not be possible: just think of the halls, the breakfast rooms, kitchens, staff rooms, and so on. The top floor
of the high-rise building, surrounded by a terrace, will serve as a café with, as I imagine, a magnificent view over the city to the mountains.
The dimensions for this hotel have been determined by Dr. Ley and his representative Dr. Lawerenz. They correspond to the "Kraft durch Freude" (Strength Through Joy) plan for vacation travel and have also been coordinated with vacation destinations and the Reichsbahn.
Munich will become the stopover point, the hub for travel to the north
and south, east and west. This hotel should also have a tunnel connection to the main station.
I would now like you to not only plan these two high-rise buildings, but also design them as an architect. They should be differentiated, despite having the same dimensions and heights. You will get along well with Dr. Ley as the client.
Amann and Müller from Eher-Verlag, on the opposite side,
well, that will be more difficult! Let me know if you need me!
I consider the construction of the Große Straße with the new main station and the underground system to be the first objective of Munich's redevelopment. Therefore, plan energetically so that we can get started soon! Also review the Reichsbahn's designs for the new main station.

But don't forget the overall urban planning of Munich amid all this work!
A conversation concluded the introduction to the most urgent and, as it turned out, most difficult task of the redevelopment: Große Straße. Adolf Hitler complained that he had to go through the same experience in Munich as he had in Berlin: the building authorities could not be trusted with forward-looking plans. The city planning officials were not designers, but entrenched, ossified bureaucrats. Most of them also lacked imagination. He saw the smile on my face and said:
"I know what you're thinking, but that doesn't contradict my experience. Here's an example: In Berlin, I used city maps and my notes to explain the 'north-south axis' and said, 'We have a unique opportunity here to create a spacious traffic axis to the south with only a few breakthroughs on the railway grounds of the Anhalter and Potsdamer terminus stations.
But then the "top" city planning official in Berlin says, "There is no need for a wide, efficient transport axis there, but here!"
? and it shows, parallel to the railway yard that was later opened up, about 200 meters further west, ? right through the densely built-up urban area.
I then commissioned Speer with Berlin, and when the authorities here offered me something similar to what had been done in Berlin, I commissioned you with Munich, and I also gave you the powers of attorney.
Incidentally, Prefect Haussmann had the same experience when reorganizing the road system in Paris.
The Autobahn Ring – 1939/1940
Adolf Hitler said that he had designated the motorway ring road as a priority construction project. Dr. Todt had commissioned the Munich Motorway Authority with the planning and execution.
When a major construction project was started on a road, care was taken to ensure that through traffic was diverted sensibly so that materials could be delivered quickly and the construction site was disrupted as little as possible; this meant that construction could proceed more quickly.
Here in Munich, construction is not only taking place on one road, but throughout the entire city: the railway facilities, the main station, the subway and commuter rail, new roads with developments, the major east-west axis with significant structures, as well as residential, commercial, and industrial buildings.
In short, construction is needed everywhere in Munich. That is why the motorway ring road is so urgent. If it weren't there, we would have to expect chaotic conditions!

However, the motorway ring road is not only a necessary diversion for through traffic during the period of intensive construction, it is also a redevelopment measure of great importance for the future, indispensable in view of the constant growth in private car traffic. It will enable motorways to be connected directly and quickly to one another, thereby permanently reducing traffic in the city:
Please review the planning of this traffic ring in terms of its route and elevation! Bridge construction has already begun in the northwestern section. I replied: I know, I have studied the planned route. It suits the Munich of today, but it does not suit the urban organism you are striving for. The motorway ring road as currently planned does not do justice to the city of Munich. The route is too tight.
According to the plans of the RAB (Reichsautobahn) senior construction management, the diameter of the motorway ring road was 20 km in an east-west direction
20 km in an east-west direction and approximately 15 km in a north-south direction. The planned and absolutely necessary redevelopment measures could not be implemented in the area enclosed by this ring road. The mistake was that everyone planned independently, whether it was the Reichsbahn or the Reichsautobahn, the building departments of the ministries or the city. There was also uncertainty about the space required by industry, which was inevitably relocated to the northeast due to the reorganization of the railway facilities in the south of the city. The space requirements
for residential buildings and green spaces was not sufficiently taken into account. The coordination of all redevelopment measures and consideration of foreseeable urban development that I have now carried out inevitably resulted in the expansion of the motorway ring road. This was the only way to create the necessary urban space with its surrounding boundary formed by this traffic glacis, which also gave the city its clear shape: within the ring, the city had priority, while outside the ring, the countryside had priority, including in terms of building standards. By this I meant the future development of industrial and residential suburbs. In any case, the cancerous spread of urban interests beyond the motorway ring had to be prevented.
I then presented the overlapping transparent plans: the built-up area of the city, the new railway facilities, the redevelopment measures with the buildings planned to date, the necessary industrial and commercial areas, the residential areas, and the green zones, each with the entry of the
planned by the RAB's senior construction management. The discrepancies were evident everywhere on these plans. I explained:
I would like to justify my route proposal and begin with a critique of the ring road planned to date: Here, in the north of the city, the ring road will not only constrict the industrial area in question, but actually cut it in two; I am thinking of Allach, BMW, and other important businesses.

The route then continues through Ludwigsfeld, through the Harthof and Neuherberg settlements, and then narrows in Freimann, where it cannot be rounded off structurally. In the east, the route runs between Riem and Daglfing, close to Christian Weber's trotting track. Adolf Hitler laughed.
Then the residential area of Trudering is cut through, leaving the Riem airport outside the motorway ring. This is impossible, if only because this route would rule out any expansion of the runway. If the development of air traffic requires new standards, then Munich needs the Riem airport as an inner-city landing site or as a reserve for urban development.
In the southeast, around Perlach and Unterbiberg, the ring also stretches tightly and without regard for the residential area. It is foreseeable that the route will cut through residential buildings, settlements, and community buildings such as hospitals and schools. The same applies to the southern boundary of the urban area. The route runs between Geiselgasteig and Solln, leaving Grünwald and Pullach outside the overall urban area. However, Grünwald and Pullach are too closely connected to the urban fabric to be formed into independent suburbs.
My route proposal takes into account the requirements arising from the respective situations. The RAB's senior construction management had no ideas about Munich's urban design when it planned the motorway ring road. This explains its route.
My Führer, I request your approval of my route proposal!
Adolf Hitler replied: "Good, Giesler, in principle yes, because you have the overview. The route must meet the requirements of the redesign. The motorway ring road is part of the redesign, so coordinate with Dr. Todt!
I also considered it necessary to consult with the government agencies and the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. This is because the inclusion of Pullach and Grünwald in the urban fabric meant that, in order to keep the ring road flowing smoothly, large parts of the Perlacher Forest and the Forstenrieder Park had to be incorporated into the urban organism.
I did not envisage these properties becoming the property of the city.
Responsibility for the green spaces, which could gradually take on the character of a city park, would rightly lie with the state, with the 'State Administration for Castles, Gardens and Lakes'.
I said that this expansion of green spaces seemed quite generous at first glance compared to the previous plans. But it was in line with the standards set by Ludwig I through the architect Sckell over 100 years ago in the north of the city, in the English Garden.
over 100 years ago in the north of the city, in the English Garden.

As I had said, I realized that wasn't entirely fair: I had brought his king, whom he revered, into my game. He looked up from his plans, a slight smile on his face. I apologized: "That's a hint, but it was unintentional, just something I said offhand.
"That's right, Giesler, I understand you!"
Then he pointed to the western part of the motorway ring: "According to this, Gauting, Germering, and Unterpfaffenhofen remain independent entities outside the ring. I think that's right. I agree with your proposed route. In the site plan, the ring now has a fluid shape according to your suggestion.
First, I tried to test the feasibility of a new route by talking to the RAB's senior construction management, but it wasn't easy! I was dealing with Chief Planning Director Hafen, a former railway engineer who defended his plans for the motorway ring around Munich with all means at his disposal.
It was like trying to run against a steam locomotive. I tried to install switches, provided information about the redesign and the space requirements triggered by the relocation of industry. Even when he had to acknowledge the necessity of the expansion here and there, he initially stuck to his guns: "You're too late with that, we've already finalized our plans."
I began to wave my powers around—I had to do it in Munich, to all sides. This brought the Hafen locomotive to a halt, and I achieved partial success. But the pressure in the negotiations increased. I couldn't yet present my route plan, which had been agreed with the Führer, to the Chief Planning Director Hafen, because he would surely have exploded!
Then the outbreak of war sent completely new signals. The redesign was halted and planning began for buildings essential to the war effort.
However, after the campaign in France, Adolf Hitler handed me a decree at the Führer's headquarters on June 25, 1940, ordering the resumption of the peace work.
The redesign of Munich was to be one of the most important construction projects of the Reich and was to begin immediately; deadlines were also set. I now exercised my powers. After detailed discussions, combined with the disclosure of the overall plan, I asked Dr. Todt for clear instructions to his senior construction management to now carry out the new routing of the motorway ring road in the south of the city according to my plan.
Dr. Todt complied with my request. In a memo, he formulated his instructions for the new route of the motorway ring road around Munich. This memo is characteristic of Dr. Todt's manner of dealing with his staff and shows his nobility and aversion to exercising dictatorial powers.

Buildings on the Obersalzberg: The Generals' Hall. View from the mountain side. View of the valley with the Untersberg.

Munich. The new main station with the road system to the east and west.

The station on all sides? Individual transport over mass transport.
The lowered track bed? The technical station.
The transparent station from the west.

The "Große Straße" with the main station. Model section 1939/40.

No. GI 4072/40?

Berlin, October 23, 1940 Note

Based on various consultations with Professor Hermann Giesler, I took advantage of one of the last beautiful days to once again view the planned route of the Reichsautobahn around Munich from an airplane, both at low and high altitudes. I cannot help but think that the current building limits for Munich are very restrictive. If you are familiar with Berlin or Paris, or even Brussels, Antwerp, and other cities on the continent from the air, and compare the dimensions that such large cities have taken on over the last few decades, you can imagine that the capital of the movement will need considerably more space than the current building limits allow over the next few decades.

This objective consideration and the comparison with numerous other cities that I have seen from the air over the last few months have prompted me to ask the Supreme Building Authority to move the southern half of the ring road, taking into account the proposals of Chief Building Officer Professor Giesler, and to take over the planning for this section. I am aware that this means abandoning the meticulous work carried out over the last two years, and I fully understand that abandoning this carefully thought-out plan will be extremely difficult for everyone who has worked on it, because under the current circumstances, this route was absolutely the right choice. I therefore acknowledge this plan and its correctness, taking into account the current circumstances, but nevertheless request that future developments be taken into account and that the route be shifted southward around

The line, which has been moved back approximately 1 km, must now be designed in detail. I have asked Chief Building Officer Prof. Giesler to support the Reichsautobahn in all cases where the line further south encounters difficulties due to existing buildings or other circumstances. The Chief Building Officer has also agreed that in such cases, where, for example, the connection of an existing road becomes more difficult, he will accommodate the Reichsautobahn by relocating the road in question.

I am convinced that, with mutual consideration of the various points of view and good comradely cooperation between the offices of the Reichsautobahn and the offices of the General Building Authority, the necessary arrangements can be made.

I am convinced that, with mutual consideration of the various points of view and good comradely cooperation between the Reich Motorway authorities and the offices of the Chief Building Officer, a line can be found that will ensure that the basic route conditions for the Reich Motorway, with the associated junctions and intersections, are no worse than at present and that the Chief Building Officer has somewhat more leeway for urban development in the southern area than with the current line.and intersections are no worse than before and which gives the General Building Authority a little more leeway for urban development in the southern area than the current line.

I would ask Mr. Hafen, Chief Building Director, to report to me from time to time on the status of the further design work.
Copy to: Chief Building Officer Prof. Giesler Chief Building Director Hafen
For information. Signed Dr. Todt.
In a subsequent conversation, I was able to convince Dr. Todt that the difficulties mentioned in his memo did not exist in the route I had proposed, neither in terms of structural facilities nor in terms of more complicated road connections. These were defensive arguments put forward by his department.
The opposite was true: according to my plans, the route of the motorway ring road did not lead to any breaks in the urban space or even to the cutting through of closed residential areas. The road connections also became more favorable because more space was available. These obstacles and roadblocks were quickly removed*.
The motorway ring road at the end of 1940. 162

The ring, now a rounded oval, had a diameter of 25 km in an east-west direction and 23 km in a north-south direction. The cross-section had two lanes and a hard shoulder. In addition, there were long exit and entry lanes at all important road junctions, due to the additional urban traffic flow, a directive from Adolf
Hitler. Almost everywhere, it was possible to create a 50-meter-wide green belt on both sides of the ring. This resulted in a traffic glacis in the plans. The section of the ring in the northwest of the city, which had already been built with embankments, bridges, and culverts, now served in my plans as a relief road between the highways west of Augsburg and north of Nuremberg. As a parallel road between the motorway ring and the planned inner-city traffic ring, this road would also be used for industry.
be of significance. The traffic planning for Munich was completed in a short period of time.
From planning the Große Straße to the east-west axis
I stood at the obelisk on the Place de la Concorde and looked up the Champs Elysees to the Arc de Triomphe. It was 1937. More important to me than the World's Fair was the cityscape of Paris, its origins and basic form, its face and its transformation during the times of kings and emperors, and the often violent redevelopment and redesign by Prefect Haussmann, who had transformed medieval Paris into a modern metropolis. I had no idea how significant my interest in Prefect Haussmann's life's work would later become.
Wherever I turned, the cult of the street axis imposed itself: on the Rue Royal with the Madeleine temple, then, opposite, the Pont de la Concorde with the Palais Bourbon, the Chambre des Députés. But the cult of the axis was particularly dominant on the Champs Elysées with the Arc de Triomphe. This was mirrored, almost three kilometers away, by the Louvre, which I could now see, looking from the Etoile, behind the Tuileries Gardens in the autumn haze, only in outline.
Here I became aware of the continuity in the realization of the plan throughout the ages of kings, republics, and emperors, as was only possible in
France. I took a very close look at the design of these streets and squares. They gave an impression of generosity, spaciousness, and cosmopolitan openness. Despite the heavy use during the World's Fair, the spaces were just able to accommodate the flow of traffic.
However, these streets were not created by Napoleon to ease traffic congestion; rather, they perfectly represent the grandeur of the nation. This sequence of streets and squares was particularly impressive in the evening, illuminated by the headlights of cars: a 19th-century spatial composition, bursting with the life and traffic of our time.

A spatial composition of the 19th century, bursting with the life and traffic flow of our time.
A year later, I was faced with the task of redesigning Munich, which included planning the Große Straße. Adolf Hitler's introduction gave me an idea of the significance of this urban planning task.
For me, the formal, architectural design of Große Straße took a back seat at first: it was secondary to the pressing need to solve all the traffic and engineering problems. The goal was to synthesize road and rail. I saw this task as a challenge, and at the same time I had the ambition to develop a modern road system that corresponded to the technology of our time: an urban road of the 20th century.
It was planned, but never built*.
With a few colleagues, architects, and engineers, I set to work.
We were joined by an extremely skilled sculptor and modeler. All the necessary planning documents from the Reichsbahn, the city, the designs for the opera house, and the Führer's sketches for the Große Straße and the party monument were now at my disposal.
We put everything together in a two-dimensional floor plan,
And while we were still drawing, the modeler used plasticine to shape the third dimension directly on the floor plan, based on the constantly evolving sketches.
The shape of the street lay before our eyes in plastic form, and at the same time all the problems became apparent. They stemmed from the Reichsbahn's "planning for its own sake." It was at odds with Große Straße and also with the organism of the city to the south and west.
I had already anticipated this after the first informative discussions with the engineers commissioned by the Ministry of Transport and after reviewing the system plans, but not to this extent, which now became apparent when the detailed planning was transferred to the model.
Together with the detailed plans for the railway facilities in the southwestern part of the city that I had requested, the Reichsbahn presented me with its overall plans for the Munich redevelopment area. The plans included the routes and the area covered by the new railway facilities, the elevation of the tracks, the layout of the stations, and their design. Everything had been conceived by the Reich Ministry of Transport before I was commissioned to work on Munich and worked out in detail by the Munich New Construction Directorate.
The ministry asked for my signature and thus for my approval and authorization to proceed. I felt unable to sign these plans and thus grant the building permit.

Like a wall, a broad track system stretched from the west, across the site of the new main station, then curved over the Isar River and the southern part of the city. These broad tracks crossed all city streets leading from the metropolitan area and city center to the south, into the open countryside, to the lakes, and into the mountains. Due to the elevation of the track bed, the city streets would have had to be passed under the tracks at unreasonable lengths.
The Reichsbahn's design for the new main station in 1938. 165

The tracks fanned out to the west toward the main station continued at full width to merge into a new south station, which was undesirable from an urban planning perspective and had been planned by the Reichsbahn south of the Theresienwiese. The main station merged with the south station in the city center to form a voluminous structure of tracks and signal systems.
station that the Reichsbahn had planned south of the Theresienwiese. The main station merged with the south station in the urban space to form a voluminous structure of tracks, signaling systems, signal boxes, and groups of buildings.
Why all this effort? Why this south station? Why should trains stop here when they have barely left the main station? A combined subway and commuter train station would be perfectly adequate here!
This caused the first, albeit minor, stir at the Reichsbahn. Things only became discordant with the new main station and the coordinate system for the elevations.
We initially transferred these Reichsbahn plans to the working model. The situation was now as follows: the prestigious 120-meter-wide Große Straße in Mün-
was cut off by the railway facilities with the new main station and thus ended as a dead-end street! Yet this important street needed a natural and smooth continuation to the west.
The urban planning mistake of 1938 by the Reichsbahn and the city planning office: Große Straße became a dead-end street, the main station was a sham, a useless south station was built, and the Theresienwiese was destroyed.
Große Straße as a dead-end street, the main station as a sham, a useless south station, and the Theresienwiese being destroyed.
Giesler's idea: he placed the main station as a circle with a polygonal hall over the tracks, and Große Straße continued along the east-west axis, connecting to the highways.

This was what the working model had shown me. Unhindered by the railway facilities, without any twists and turns or even tunneling, the
The "Große Straße" merges into an east-west axis, providing a clear, intersection-free connection to the highways to Augsburg and Lindau, as well as to the Pasing district. This was dictated by the urban planning concept and the layout of the rail and road networks. It was not a question of determining a hierarchy, but rather of finding a balance between the two!
The sensible integration of the railway facilities into the urban fabric was also essential for the high status of a modern redesign. It was unacceptable
be allowed to ruthlessly subjugate the southern part of the city.
The location of the new main station was determined by the confluence of railway lines from different directions and the passage to Munich East Station. Nothing could be changed there. But everything else in the planning of the railway facilities needed to be redesigned, and the prerequisite for this was that the elevation of the tracks and stations had to be changed.
The track bed had to be lowered, which also made the synthesis between road and rail possible and visible. The Große Straße connected with the main station to form a unified whole, opening it up on all sides and connecting it to the motorway as an east-west axis.
I searched intensively for a solution and found it. Quickly created models, already incorporating the polygonal shape of the main station, gave me the Absolute certainty: this plan was better and had to prevail against all criticism. However, this solution was contrary to the concept of the Reich Ministry of Transport. I thought it was right to inform the president of the Munich Reichsbahn New Construction Directorate and his chief engineer. I also wanted to challenge their counterarguments, and they came with vehemence! But I convinced the president, who said: "I admit it, but you will have to take responsibility for the loss of time."
I could foresee the conflict with the Reich Ministry of Transport. But I did not foresee Adolf Hitler's anger. I had not forgotten what he had said to me when he commissioned me with Munich: I should inform him if my plans contradicted a decision he had made. But I could not imagine that he was familiar with all the details and consequences of the Reichsbahn plans.
I expected Adolf Hitler to visit my studio in the next few days, and I wanted to present him with this plan and explain why I
had to refuse to give my approval. I then wanted to demonstrate my solution using the working model. But things turned out differently! The Reich Minister of Transport had beaten me to it.

Late in the evening before the announced visit to the studio, Bormann called me from Linz to say that Minister Dorpmüller had just told the Führer: "Your General Building Officer Giesler has thrown out the entire Reichsbahn plans for Munich!" He asked me if this was true and, if so, why I had done it. The Führer was very angry and would be coming to my studio the next morning.

I explained to Bormann that the Reichsbahn New Construction Directorate had submitted the plans for the railway facilities in Munich to me for approval. However, I had strictly refused to approve these plans with my signature, and I had good reasons for doing so. Apparently, the ministry had learned of my decision, but my railway concept was diametrically opposed to the ministry's view.

In any case, it was clear that Minister Dorpmüller had reported this to the Führer without familiarizing himself with my considerations and plans. The whole thing was unfair! And finally: I would inform the Führer about Munich planning matters at a higher level, not Minister Dorpmüller!

"Monk! Monk!" Bormann said in response. Well, I decided to take a chance.

The next morning, Adolf Hitler entered my studio with a stern expression. After a brief, cool greeting, he looked at me questioningly.

"I have reasons," I began, "for rejecting the Reichsbahn plans for Munich in the form presented to me. I cannot imagine that these plans correspond to your instructions!"

That was all I could say. Adolf Hitler had seen the working model, walked over to it, and examined it closely. He looked at me, completely transformed, and said, "Giesler, this is the solution!" Then, enthusiastically, he added, "This really is the solution!"

It was only after some time that I was able to explain why the Reichsbahn plans did not correspond to the urban planning objectives he had set me:

With this proposal for a polygonal hall, I wanted to break with the conventional style of station design: eclectic architecture in new Renaissance, like Berlin's Anhalter or Potsdamer stations, which are even decked out as Loggien dei Lanzi, or like Stuttgart station: monumental stone block architecture with Romanesque wooden ceilings—what does all this have to do with modern mass transportation technology?

What I am striving for here in Munich is the complete technical unity of locomotives, trains, and buildings—the latter as transparent as possible, using modern building materials that correspond to the chemin de fer!

What I found here in terms of designs from the Reichsbahn and also from the city planning department, which even concealed the sloping position of the railway tracks, did not correspond to the technical unity that we must sincerely strive for. Behind these facade reception halls, behind heavy masonry with pillars, columns, architrave attics, and odds and ends, anything could happen except the arrival and departure of trains and locomotives.
According to the designs of the Reichsbahn and the city commissioner, the Große Straße ended as a cul-de-sac at the main station, and only an undefined, tortuous connection from the west to the city and to the west to the highways was possible and planned. You would have needed a pilot, just like now if you want to drive from the highway from Stuttgart into the Munich city center.
Urban traffic planning was one-sidedly geared toward rail at the expense of roads and private transport.
Adolf Hitler agreed with these considerations: Giesler, you have not
Not only has the balance between rail and road been restored, you have found a solution that is perfectly suited to the city's structure. But you have achieved much more than that: the Große Straße now has a direct connection to the two major highways. This means that this east-west axis, now six kilometers long, will be the most modern road in the country.
The new main station will be a monument to the technology of our century. Then the details of my plan were discussed. Adolf Hitler said that the only disadvantage of my solution was the time it would cost us. That was also one of the arguments with which Dorpmüller had shocked him the previous evening.
I did not share these concerns: My Führer, I see it differently; we may lose time with the new planning, but we will gain time through simplification and also later in the construction phase, because we will save ourselves the previously planned south station and thus millions of dollars.
He listened attentively and confirmed that the south station could be dispensed with. Subway and suburban train stations fully served the purpose of connecting the Theresienwiese and the exhibition grounds, and the traditional "Wiesn6" area would also remain completely intact: "Giesler, come with me, let's have dinner at the Osteria."
As we left, Bormann turned to me with a smile: "I had feared the worst."
The Osteria served potato soup. "Excellent," said Adolf Hitler – and then quietly to me: "But my mother used to season the potato soup with a little marjoram."
He ate dry bread with it. I always found it remarkable to see how
he broke the bread. When we got up, he held me back: "Giesler, make sure we make up for lost time and get started on the construction soon!"

The new main station on the east-west axis

Adolf Hitler had given the impetus for the design and detailed planning of the entire complex with his remark: "The new main station will be a monument to the technology of our century"; his remark became binding.

The working model had contributed decisively to clarifying the traffic problems and thus to overcoming the railway barrier, making any explanation superfluous and convincing. The new main station was the dominant centerpiece of the model.

Even during the initial, tentative stages of design, I sought versatility and harmony between the hall space and the exterior design. This station was to become a perfect technical unit, identical in essence to the tracks, the locomotives, and the flowing traffic of the trains. In the model, this station was convincingly represented as a polygon, a 16-sided shape with a flat dome and surrounded by a ring that could meet all the space requirements*.

In almost all stations, even those built in modern times under the banner of great practicality, the dualism between the station building and the attached station hall seemed absurd to me. For the station building – in an eclectic return to the past, often borrowing from the Renaissance or even the Romanesque period – is followed by the train platforms, which often look like shelters for horses. In one significant complex, these platforms were even constructed of wooden beams, a misguided deception in terms of both time and material.

No matter how tall and imposing the station façade was, it could not capture the directional force of Große Straße. This became clear when the working model showed the 120-meter-wide street layout from Stachus to the railway barrier in three-dimensional form. A façade could not form the end of Große Straße either. Stachus to the railway barrier. Nor could a façade form the end of Große Straße.

After 2.5 kilometers, the street space sensibly divided into the directions of travel, the central reservation became wide, like an island in a stream, from which the smooth ring grew, and above it the transparent polygon with the shadowy, striking segments of the flat dome.
The station at the end of Große Straße was to appear as if floating, like a filigree structure surrounded by light and shadow. I could only imagine its overall appearance as being in complete contrast to the calm, closed tectonics of the stone buildings lining the square and the street.
The main station was now visible from all sides, and it was also accessible from all sides. The main entrance faced east, toward Große Straße. Four stations were connected to the ring around the polygon. From the entrances and access roads, this station complex offered the shortest routes to traffic flows and also the shortest routes between the individual transport systems, whether to long-distance or local trains, to suburban trains, to the suburban train ring or to the underground trains, to omnibuses, taxis or the large parking areas for private cars in the side basements. The connection between the various transport systems enabled horizontal and vertical transfers, such as escalators and telescopic elevators.
By lowering the track bed, the city streets could now be routed southward over the railroad tracks. Throughout the city, the track bed was to be framed by gently sloping embankments planted with vegetation. Green zones would allow trains to enter technically designed stations.
The free span of the dome construction had to be determined with the engineers of the Reichsbahn. They were not petty in their demands , insisting on 245 meters, plus the ring and the road section around the dome, which was 110 meters wide.
Now came the dispute with the Reich Ministry of Transport:
The fact that this meeting took place in Berlin was a matter of establishing rank for the ministry, which I willingly complied with, as I had a meeting at the Reich Chancellery beforehand. Adolf Hitler told me: "If you can't get along with Minister Dorpmüller, then convey my wish to him – but only to him! – that the talks on the Munich railway facilities be concluded with me!"
Dr. Praun, the head of my legal department, accompanied me for support and to take minutes. President Koll from the Reichsbahn New Construction Directorate in Munich appeared with his tough, aggressive chief engineer Franz. The minister was waiting for us with his state secretary Kleinmann and the chief planner of the Reichsbahn, Dr. Leibbrand. It was like the Olympics.
The ceremonial proceedings at the ministry seemed to have been carried over from the early days of the

Chemin de Fer era. And yet Dr. Praun later told me that he had never experienced such an interesting, exciting, and topical negotiation.
President Koll, a wise man of integrity, endorsed my plan. His Franz, who had more years of service ahead of him, spoke against it, if only because of the loss of time, 'precisely because of the loss of time,' he said.
er, because he came from Finsterwalde, and that's how they talk there. The state secretary urged Dr. Leibbrand to resist. Jovial, with a sonorous voice, the minister shielded his staff without committing himself. As far as ministerial dignity allowed, the battle over the elevation of the tracks, over road underpasses or overpasses, rose in the voices to a fortissimo. ?
?
Since Dr. Leibbrand couldn't attack me with factual arguments, he found a way out. He stood up and said emphatically, but solemnly: "I formally disavow Mr. President Koll!" Whereupon the good man rose and replied: "I formally and decisively reject this!"
They stood facing each other like steam locomotives, but that was enough to satisfy everyone. I enjoyed it and now felt the time was right to say: "Minister, the Führer is expecting
us both at the Reich Chancellery to conclude the discussion. Can I contact the adjutant's office from here?"
In a short time, everything was settled: the Chief Building Officer would decide on the elevation and design of the stations after consulting with the Reich Railway Construction Authority!
I went to the Reich Chancellery to report. I only reported the result, and
Adolf Hitler was also brief:
"And?"
I was obliged to convey your request to the Reich Minister.
to conclude, if necessary, the discussion about the Munich railway facilities in the Reich Chancellery.
Adolf Hitler turned around: Come, Giesler. But I still saw a slight change in his face and thought: These are our little joys!
We then talked about the construction of the new main station. I suggested a competition between the leading steel construction companies such as Krupp, Klönne, Jucho, and MAN. Adolf Hitler thought that the results of the competition would show how steel construction had developed since the Eiffel Tower, the large machine hall at the World's Fair in
1889 and the gigantic bridges in America*.
I did not limit the competition to steel construction companies; I also asked the reinforced concrete company Dyckerhoff and Widmann, with their ingenious design 172

I asked engineer Dr. Finsterwalde for a design proposal. I was interested in the dimensions and possibilities of reinforced concrete for the required spans, especially with regard to other projects that were already in the pipeline.
Adolf Hitler decided that steel was the only material that could be used for the station. The competition was won by the Dortmund steel construction company Klönne, which had hired Professor Bonatz as a consultant. The project was large and multifaceted, and a working group was formed under the leadership of Klönne with Krupp and Jucho. I set up a "station office" and commissioned Professor Bonatz as a freelancer to manage it.
Structural engineer Dr. Rudakow determined the dimensions of the structural components in an incredibly short time.
the dimensions of the structural components. As a precaution, experimental statics were used to verify the theoretically determined values. Professor Graf from the Technical University of Stuttgart was commissioned to do this. These investigations were carried out on a large steel model, whose components were dimensioned to scale in accordance with the calculations of structural engineer Rudakow.
Numerous measuring points on the model, between the dome, truss frames, and foundations, recorded every movement of the structure under simulated loads such as snow, wind up to hurricane force, and the assumed failure of individual purlins or a truss frame. The influence of solar heating on the south side was also determined. This made it possible to measure the static forces acting on the polygonal steel structure, from the dome lantern to the pressure ring and the 16 individual frames to the movable transition and load absorption by the foundations.
This resulted in only a slight overdimensioning of individual structural components determined by calculation, which was justified by safety allowances. Adolf Hitler followed these tests with great interest. He asked Professor Graf to explain the measurement methods used. After completion of the model tests, he asked me to convey his appreciation and thanks to Rudakow and Graf.
He was reserved toward Professor Bonatz. He had not expressed any reservations when I told him that I wanted to recruit Bonatz as a freelancer for Munich and entrust him with the station office. He would have preferred me to plan the main station myself in every detail, as it was my idea, but he understood that everything the redesign required of me, the tasks assigned to me by the party and himself, and what he would still like to entrust to me, was beyond what could reasonably be expected.
I said that Professor Bonatz had experience in steel construction, that he was the leading authority among engineers, and that he also had experience in station construction, as demonstrated by 173

Stuttgart, that he was a diplomat and skilled at setting the course, which was a basic requirement in all negotiations with the Reichsbahn. He could take on a dozen railway engineers at once, while I was already struggling with two.
Adolf Hitler laughed: "The grim Hagen." When I looked at him questioningly, he explained: "That's what Bormann calls you, and he means it in a positive and appreciative way!"
The planning work on the main station with Professor Bonatz, the engineers from the new construction department, myself, and my colleagues was harmonious. Soon, my model workshop was able to complete its often-admired wooden models: the main street with its buildings, the monument, and the main station. Then the individual parts were assembled for a better overview.
The building blended naturally into the large street space, forming a functional and dominant conclusion to Große Straße while at the same time standing, as if suspended, at the center of the east-west axis.
The high level of transparency in the main station was achieved by the tall, glazed steel shoulder of the polygon. The clear, structurally and tectonically impressive steel construction was combined with shimmering, weightless materials for the various functions: aluminum for the profiled dome covering, aluminum for windows and elements, glass and glass mosaic for the light and wall surfaces.
There was no absolute closure inside the vast dome; rather, the abundance of light flooding through it merged the interior space with the boundless exterior.
Adolf Hitler spent a long time in front of this model. A mild spotlight that did not dazzle served as the "sun." a mild spotlight that did not dazzle. This allowed him to see the station in any daylight conditions. The floating lightness and transparency were most impressive when the spotlight was moved to the "evening position" in the model at Pasing.
Adolf Hitler just nodded when I told him: "The night lighting will make the station seem almost unreal." He squeezed my hand without saying a word.
The broad-gauge railway – 1942
All the details of the railway facilities for Munich had been finalized. It had not been easy to implement the urban planning priorities for the route, the elevations, the embankment angles, and the bridge structures in such a way that the entire system would fit into the city's fabric. In a tough battle with the Reich Ministry of Transport, my plans for the stations had also prevailed; my models and my concept for the new main station had won them over. The steel structure, from the La- 174

La-174
Adolf Hitler came to my studio to look at new plans for Linz. His gaze swept over the Munich models, lingered on the large model of the main station, and then he said, "By the way, without any particular emphasis,"
emphasis: 'Giesler, you'll have to change the diameter of the polygon.
"Almighty," I looked at him, he was serious. "Why is that, my
Führer?"
"I have decided to build a broad-gauge railway."
Then he gave me the origin and reasoning behind his idea: he had
had to deal with transport problems a great deal in recent years. He had always been aware of the importance of rail and road. Rail and road were the prerequisites for opening up and penetrating the space. He recalled the Roman Empire with its roads, Napoleon, the role of the railroad in the colonization of America, and the Trans-Siberian Railway.
While we were building roads that were suitable for traffic and were intended to open up the area and thus bring people and nations together, four-lane roads with widths of 20 to 25 meters, the railways remained at the English mail coach gauge of 1435 millimeters. This may have been necessary
in the early stages of rail transport, and it was also right for covering small areas. It remains right for the differentiated collection and distribution of goods. But for the future, for the Europe of tomorrow, this gauge is not sufficient. He believes the correct expression is: too narrow!
He had informed the Reich Ministry of Transport of his decision to build a broad-gauge railway with a track width of four meters. A small group of expert engineers would begin reviewing and developing the plans. Two north-south routes and two east-west routes were planned. One of these would run via Munich: the north-south route from Hamburg and the route from the west, later extended to the French Atlantic coast and the Mediterranean coast. They would meet in Munich, run together via Linz into the Ostmark, and then fork again in the east and southeast with a connection to Trieste.
The routes for passenger trains and freight trains would be kept separate
separate, both routes would be double-tracked. The profile of the broad-gauge passenger car would be strictly limited in height and width. The loading height of the freight cars would have to remain free, and he did not want any restrictions on the use of width. The passenger cars would be double-decker, with a usable width of six meters including the center aisle. The dining car would be single-story.

A few months later, I visited a full-scale model with Adolf Hitler. A passenger compartment was also shown which, in accordance with his request, could be converted into a couchette compartment in just a few simple steps.
He imagined the broad-gauge freight car as follows: The standard cars would be placed on a platform about six meters wide as containers bridge cranes, two side by side, three or four in a row. Depending on the load, the same would be repeated on top. A broad-gauge wagon would thus take at least six to twelve standard wagons for long-distance transport and return them to the standard-gauge axles at the distribution centers.
Bulk goods could also be transported in lightweight, large-capacity transport containers. These containers would be stacked like crates on broad-gauge wagons and transferred to standard wagons at distribution centers or transported directly to their destination by truck
and unloaded.
The speed should be at least 150 to 200 kilometers per hour for freight transport and 250 kilometers per hour for passenger transport! Of course, his considerations were also based on military reasons,
war being the father of many ideas. But the main reason was that our current transport system would no longer be able to cope with the volume of traffic in 10 or 20 years' time and that, compared to water transport on canals, rail transport on broad gauge tracks was more advantageous in terms of opening up the country. One only had to think of the heights to be overcome, the duration of water transport, and the dependence on
the seasons, because even here in the Reich, the canals are usually frozen over during the months with the highest transport volumes.
These new broad-gauge freight lines should run directly through the Munich North freight yard. In the main station, I would therefore have to allow for two additional four-meter tracks for passenger traffic. This would require a platform, and the two associated baggage and mail platforms were already in place. He concluded these considerations as follows:
But I don't think that will be possible without extending the polygon diameter. This will also extend the bypass ring. Please check soon whether this is still compatible with the road space proportions. I am absolutely convinced that it is, because the station appears very transparent in the street space, not as a mass, but due to the way its outer shell is designed.
street space as a mass, but rather as a transparent structure due to the design of its outer shell.
Adolf Hitler's well-founded idea of a European broad-gauge railway prompted the Reich Ministry of Transport to widen the station facilities, and thus the polygon, by 20 meters. Shortly thereafter, Speer approached me:

View of the main station, with Arnulfstraße in the foreground.
The high-rise buildings at the main station: the KdF Hotel, behind it the Eher publishing house.

Main station. Partial view of the hall.

Station concourse: section through the polygon dome. Steel structure and stairs.

The main station dominates the end of Große Straße without obstructing traffic flow to and from the west.
The station square is framed by the two high-rise buildings.

Giesler, I heard you want to increase the span of the Munich train station dome by 20 meters. That would give it a diameter of 265 meters.
"Impossible!" I replied. "My hall in Berlin has a span of 250 meters. You have to stay below that in Munich, at 245 meters, as you planned originally!"
I replied, stunned: "I'm not interested in expanding the diameter of the Munich hall, nor do I have any ambition to build the largest hall as part of the redesign!"
I explained my view on the planned widening of the station facilities to Speer: I do not believe that this Reichsbahn demand is justified; it must be reviewed. After all, the broad gauge would allow at least one pair of standard gauge tracks to be saved in the station. Furthermore, I was convinced that the Ministry's track requirements, which had forced me to adopt a polygon span of 245 meters, were excessive. After the war, air travel would become more important as a means of rapid long-distance transport, and this would be accompanied by increasing motorization and now also the broad gauge, all of which would mean that fewer regular trains would be needed than planned.
I added: And why is a through station being built in Munich? Because it is more efficient than the old terminus station, because it saves time and the tracks are cleared more quickly: because the train throughput is greater. The broad gauge affects you in Berlin just as much as it affects me in Munich.
We have a common interest in countering excessive demands. It is very possible that we can succeed together. Then Munich will stick with 245 meters, and neither the plans nor the completed structural analysis will change. We already started laying the foundations in 1940, after the invasion of France. That too must be taken into account. But the decision as to whether the diameter will remain at 245 meters or whether, in accordance with the demands of the Reichsbahn, the dome diameter will have to be redesigned and recalculated at 265 meters will be made by the Führer.
The road construction ? 1939/40
"The main road must be designed without any intersections," Adolf Hitler told me when he introduced me to the urban planning tasks involved in redesigning Munich. This naturally applied to the entire east-west axis, of which the main road was a part. Starting from the lowered track bed of the railway, which I had pushed through against the resistance of the Reich Ministry of Transport, the carefully considered interpolation of the elevations of these important road spaces began.

From the "Party Monument" to the square in front of the new main railway station, Große Straße rose to create the necessary space above the lowered railway tracks. It began with a concave curve in the longitudinal profile, followed by a two-kilometer incline of approximately 15 centimeters per 100 meters. Almost imperceptible, recognizable only – and deliberately so – by the slight offset of the main cornices of the building blocks.
From the station square, the incline began in the form of a ramp, a convex incline with rounded corners that ended at the ring of the polygon. This prevented the station building from being partially obscured and emphasized the floating appearance of the polygon.
From Stachus – before the start of the old town center – to the new main station, Große Straße was planned as a two-story structure. The physical working model played a role in this decision. The east-west route of the subway ran under the street basement. The cross
and ring roads had the same height as this lower level, which they thus divided and at the same time opened up.
Descent and ascent ramps connected the side lanes of Große Straße with the cross and ring roads and, at the same time, with
the street basement. These ramps branched off from special entry lanes and, as exit ramps, led back into entry lanes; these entry lanes were connected to the outer slow lanes of Große Straße. This created a connection between Große Straße and the cross streets and ring roads.
More importantly, however, the ramps also provided a connection between the main road and the underground road. This provided over 160,000 square meters of parking space, enough for more than 6,000 cars. This ensured sufficient parking for the buildings along the main road. But far beyond that – and this was significant – these parking spaces were well connected to the underground railway system over a length of around 2.5 kilometers: the furthest distance from a parked car to the nearest underground station was around 275 meters!
The transition from car to subway was thus secured, and the overlap of individual traffic with mass rail transport was achieved*. In order not to completely eliminate stationary traffic on Große Straße
, a parking area for short-term parking was provided between the entry lanes, as well as space for right of way at building groups at a depth of 4
to 7 meters. This would create a lively and colorful border along the street.
Underneath the sidewalks along the building fronts, there was a 10-meter-wide, two-lane service road at the level of the cross streets and ring roads, but separated from the large parking areas. Between the tree caissons, an additional parking lane was assigned to the service roads. Thus

Planned road construction from the old to the new main station? System drawing.

deliveries, unloading, and loading were possible in the street basement, directly into the high basement or storage floor of the buildings, without disturbing pedestrians on the sidewalks.
When I explained the working model and the plans, the cross-sections and longitudinal sections, and the road construction of the Große Straße to Adolf Hitler, he was enthusiastic: First, you created a balance between rail and road with the different traffic levels, a balance between mass and individual transport, and now you have also solved the parking problem; far more than that, you have created a connection between parked cars and the subway, and that over a length of 2,500 meters. What that means will only become clear in the future!
I had already been thinking about how to deal with the traffic flow that would one day come from the west, from two highways no less, and collide with the old town center via Große Straße. I had thought of diversions and side parking areas. But your road construction is better! How did you arrange the subway stations?
Basically, they are located under the most important crossroads and ring roads, thus covering both traffic levels. The stations are then assigned to the important groups of buildings where traffic density is to be expected, such as the high-rise buildings, the department store, and the "Haus der Mode," the new opera house with the hotel, cafes, and restaurants. Opposite this is the area where heavy traffic is expected at the Theresienwiese, as well as at the party memorial and, of course, at Stachus with the intersection of the two
east-west and north-south subway lines.
All stations will have telescopic elevators at the head ends, as well as escalators running in opposite directions and emergency stairs to the cross streets and sidewalks of Große Straße. Elevators, escalators, and emergency stairs end under the protective pavilions, which are arranged parallel to the sidewalks.
These pavilions on steel tube supports are the outer distinguishing feature of the subway stations and also serve as elements of scale in the large street space.
Adolf Hitler had thought ahead during my explanations: It is worth considering whether this road construction with parking spaces should only be built in the area of Große Straße. It would certainly be right to implement this system for the entire east-west axis, because the use of parking spaces under
the road space is already guaranteed by the planned buildings. And when you come into the city from outside, you can park your car here and continue your journey by subway.
I then used sketches to explain the layout of the supply lines, which were housed in separate, accessible channels, separated according to technical requirements, clearly laid out, and accessible for maintenance.

Adolf Hitler looked with interest at the cross-section of the duct system with the subdivisions for the various cable harnesses, the service water pipes, and the sewage pipes.
That was good, he said, because it would eliminate the need to tear up sidewalks and streets later on if one of the pipes needed to be accessed. He then asked me what the large chambers labeled "exhaust air" and "heat" were for.
I explained that the exhaust air ducts in the street basement were necessary because like the ventilation system in a mine tunnel. At the bottom of the parking areas, carbon monoxide gases would have to be extracted and then fed through afterburning and filter chambers into the chimneys of the building complexes. Fresh air would flow into the parking areas from the side streets without ventilation.
air flows without ventilation from the cross streets.
Then I hinted to him for the first time at the details of a new plan: And 'heat' means the controllable chamber space for transporting the flowing heat, i.e., district heating for the buildings instead of individual or collective heating systems, although the boiler rooms and chimneys necessary for individual heating are being planned in each building as a precaution.
My engineers are working on heating the road surface above the parking level with heat pulses to keep the road free of snow and black ice. With such large road spaces, manual snow removal or sanding is out of the question.
I am not yet able to report on the issue of heat supply, which is so important for the overall redesign. I am still waiting for the necessary documentation, and it will take several weeks before the engineers have completed their planning and reviewed their calculations.
Adolf Hitler pointed to the model and said: "I have described the new main station as a monument to the technology of our time, and I would add that the 'Great Road' leading to this monument will be the most modern road of our time!"

"The reception"
Party buildings ? 1939
It's about city planning, said Adolf Hitler. In the past, cities were defined by protective walls, which also tightly enclosed the urban organism. Only after centuries of slow vertical growth was this enclosure overcome, with the newly gained urban space being shielded by walls.
If the city was important, the seat of a prince, or if it was a fortress, the walls were surrounded by protective ramparts, moats, far-reaching bastions, and glacis.
In Merian's engravings, one can see the special charm of the old city structure, the clearly defined fabric of a community. Within it, the cathedral, the residence, the town hall – according to their rank – above the fabric of the dwellings, their significant and valid standard.
It was not until the 19th century that the unlimited and formless sprawl began, which we must now lead back to an organic order. Today, the city form can mostly only be perceived in sectors, which we must organize and whose dissonances we must overcome in order to form a meaningful urban structure once again.
Instead of the protective walls that used to define the city limits, Munich now has a ring road that directs traffic and, together with its green belt, borders the city and separates it from the open countryside.
What we must bear in mind is the "welcome"! Those arriving from outside must be given the impression that this is where the city begins and, beyond that, that the city is welcoming them. This is followed by a clear route to the 182

old town center steeped in tradition, to be welcomed through the medieval city gate or a victory gate, a triumphal arch, as in Munich through the Feldherrnhalle or the Propylaea from the era of Ludwig I. The significance of city gates in the past is evident here in Munich: In the early Middle Ages, the fortified gate was chosen as the seal, a symbol of the city, with an eagle hovering above it with outstretched wings. This refers to the city's imperial status at the time; the head of a monk in the Gothic archway indicates the name Munich*. In later times, this was trivialized and became the "Münchner Kindl" (Munich child).
Sculptures and frescoes also adorned the defensive gates for welcoming visitors.
We were sitting in the living compartment of the special train traveling from Munich to Berlin. Adolf Hitler was relaxed; he had the time and, it seemed, the inclination for a conversation about urban design. I was always surprised by the casual manner in which he often made significant points and gave me ideas for my work.
He went on to talk about defensive gates in protective walls and gates of power, such as the Lion Gate at Mycenae with its contrasting fine chisel work and mighty cyclopean blocks. He described the Ishtar Gate of Babylon, whose outer gate he had admired in the Berlin Museum, and spoke about the colorful contrasts of the bright blue glazed brickwork, on which the reliefs of lions and heraldic animals stood out in the yellow of the sandy deserts: Impressive in its majestic form... and yet the reconstructed outer gate is only a small section of this magnificent gate complex, which can probably also be interpreted symbolically as an expression of power.
He saw another type of gate complex, more associated with the dignity of reception and representation, in the architectural structure of the Acropolis Propylaea and in the decorative, sculptural façade design of the market gate of Miletus.
Another example of particular significance and uniqueness came to mind: the strange gate of Frederick II of the Staufer dynasty in Capua, the entrance to his empire, a gate of dominion; defense, reception, and threat all at once.
Distinguished builders were aware of the obligation to provide an appropriate reception. This obligation was deeply rooted and conveyed to us in all forms: in the colonnades in front of St. Peter's Basilica, in the Court d'Honneur, in the halls and staircases of residences, but also in avenues, with
Guided tours through park landscapes, with fountains and water features, all served as reception areas. Even the small village community felt this obligation; on special occasions, they erected gates and decorated them with fir greenery, flags, and inscriptions. We should also consider the "reception" in Munich as part of the redesign:

Giesler, think about it and make suggestions as to how the 'reception' can be designed in a manner appropriate to the times. The architectural part must be meaningful and convincing, ' that is to say: neither a triumphal arch nor uselessly restrictive propylaea, but in keeping with the character of the city.
It was precisely these words that strengthened me in my intentions.
I said that then the meaning and purpose of the "reception" could correspond to the purpose he had specified: Munich as the "capital of the movement."
He still hesitated to agree with me:
So you want to 'begin the city' with the party buildings and design the 'reception'? There's a lot to be said for that, but give me your reasoning.
I explained that I wanted to link the "reception" and the beginning of the city with the party buildings because this would give priority to this stage of construction and at the same time ensure the final form would not be left to chance in the future. In short, it was an important decision, not only for the western sector of the city.
The resulting design should bear his signature. These were his ideas for the reorganization of Munich into a unified whole. And nothing was better suited to convincingly visualize his urban planning ideas
than the preceding final design of the western part of the city, from the old town center to the open countryside. Ultimately, it was the modern continuation of the old salt road that had led to the early origins of Munich.
I unfolded a site plan and laid out overview photographs of the working model:
Here, at the old main station, the Große Straße begins with a bang: the column of movement, the monument to the party. Passing the new main station, the street then continues westward as an east-west axis. Where and how and with what architectural accent this street ends has preoccupied me. The "where" is determined by Pasing.
Pasing was an independent small-town entity, located within the city limits but within the planned motorway ring road, yet without any direct connection to Munich. Due to its architectural scale alone, Pasing had to remain an independent entity, with access to the south and west. Working on the overview model gave me a clear picture of the overall layout, the possible clear routing of traffic flows, the sensible rhythms in the lengths of the east-west axis, and also its logical conclusion, or, conversely, the beginning of the city.
Hitler was now interested in the photographs of the overview model, which I presented and explained to him:
Here, Pasing was to be shielded by a green belt to the east, in front of Munich, to prevent unorganized development. In this

green belt, the east-west road would be divided into three routes differing in elevation; to the southwest, the feeder road to Alpenstraße and the highway to Lindau, then to Pasing and on to Landsberg, and here, to the northwest, the feeder road to the Augsburg-Stuttgart highway.
I explained: All three routes are also connected to the motorway ring road. This model shows the introduction of the individual routes into the east-west axis in the opposite direction, with a slight ramp. And this is where the city begins – not with random elements or residential buildings. Wide open, with a building complex that also serves as a reception area, the beginning of the city is immediate and energetic: the SA forum. Further party buildings follow towards the city along the east-west axis. The party buildings are completed by the large complex of the German Labor Front. Then begins the area of the new main station with its ancillary facilities. Parallel to the track bed, I have planned the required exhibition halls for the Labor Front, which will thus have a rail connection.
Adolf Hitler interrupted me. Now we have come to the city gates, the beginning of the city, and the "reception" area for the party buildings, which is entirely logical. He said he had often thought about the correct location and design of these buildings and had been asked repeatedly by the party for clarification, as they wanted to secure the necessary land as a precaution. He had resisted this until now, because it was important to first finalize the essential parts of the plan for the redesign of Munich. Then he made it easy for himself by pointing out that the General Building Authority was responsible for the party buildings in Munich, and that was how he wanted his decree appointing me to be understood.
I raised my hand to interject, but did not get a chance.
I know what you want to say, Giesler, my reference to the Reichsleiter does not preclude us from consulting each other beforehand and, if necessary, seeking my decision, but the responsibility lies with you.
Just one year later, I had occasion to recall these words. Tea was served, and Bormann wanted to use the break to obtain some information.
Leave that now, Bormann, let's stick to the party buildings, and you, Giesler, explain your ideas about the layout of these buildings on the east-west axis from an urban planning perspective.
I did so at length, knowing that Adolf Hitler was listening and wanted to be thoroughly informed about Munich's urban planning. So I explained why, in my opinion, the land on both sides of the east-west axis was particularly suitable for party buildings, but not for residential buildings. This was because the strips of land, each almost three kilometers long, which would be accessed by the east-west axis, were located between

parallel traffic flows: the northern strip of land was bordered by the railway tracks leading to the new main station, the southern strip by Landsberger Strasse, and it was to be expected that this street in particular would have to cope with heavy inner-city traffic and truck traffic in the future. It was absurd to squeeze residential buildings between these traffic flows.
In addition, the important east-west axis required building standards that residential buildings could not meet. However, the land along this spacious road had to be used intensively and needed to be densified. This was necessary due to the favorable location near the new main train station and the subway and commuter rail lines, as well as the connection of this road axis to two highways and the highway ring. The necessary parking spaces were also available in the buildings themselves or under the street space. Another important factor for me was the possibility of almost immediate heat and energy supply from the planned West cogeneration plant.
The architectural standards required for this east-west axis, considering alone the dimensions of the main station and the adjoining Große Straße, could only be achieved with austere, monumental buildings: buildings for the party structures, with the SA forum at the beginning and the building complex of the German Labor Front at the end, in front of the new station. In between, the NSKK, the Bauernschaft, the NSV, the Frauenschaft, and others could be arranged.
I then addressed design issues. These buildings were to be differentiated and find their own expression through open construction and separated from each other by trees. This would give qualified architects the opportunity to show their own signature style for each building, naturally within the framework of the overarching specifications such as floor and cornice heights. However, this did not in any way preclude individual design freedom.
The horizontal tendency characteristic of the street could also be enriched by the vertical intervals, breaks, and risalits of the buildings. I even thought of loosening up the building line, but only within a building complex itself, in order to give the north facades a sculptural effect through a dynamic floor plan. This would create an interesting visual change due to the difference between the daytime and nighttime lighting.
I wanted to avoid any rigidity in the street fronts. It is not my place to criticize Ludwigstraße, but one can learn from the uniformly aligned facades designed by architect Gärtner that they appear closed and monotonous over a length of more than one kilometer.
I would have increased the intervals between the open staircase protruding into the street space of the State Library and the vertical lines of the Ludwig Church, which break up the closed

. And the widening of the square at the beginning and end of the street – the University Square and Odeon Square – came just in time to allow us to breathe deeply. This makes the development of the approximately three-kilometer-long east-west axis all the more important to consider carefully.
The location of the construction site on both sides of the east-west axis inevitably meant that the design of the buildings and facades was important. These buildings had inner courtyards but no rear courtyards. The rear views are also the facades facing the trains entering or leaving the station, or they form the building lines along Landsberger Strasse. Although they are shielded from traffic by green strips or trees, they are nevertheless important parts of the cityscape. The buildings along the east-west axis, which are shaped on all sides, correspond to the required "clear passage" to the city center and serve as a "reception" area, just like the SA forum, which acts as a gateway to the city.
Adolf Hitler interrupted me: "Let's stick with the party buildings for now. I notice that you haven't mentioned the locations or buildings for the SS and the Hitler Youth, and what are you planning to do with the Munich-Upper Bavaria district leadership, which is currently spread across various buildings?"
I unfolded a partial site plan. I had planned the buildings for the SS in the north of Munich. Here, at the end of the Berlin-Munich motorway, a gate complex was to be built, with two castles for units of the SS
"Das Reich" and "Der Führer." This would create a square that could serve as a reception area and at the same time mark the entrance to the entire complex. This also included the required residential buildings, which were mainly oriented toward the west side of the Isar floodplains and would allow for the planned extension of the English Garden to the north.
Adolf Hitler had looked at the overview plan: "As I see here,
You see this construction as an independent structure, like a satellite placed in front of the motorway ring, which you didn't want to bypass with urban buildings?
Yes, deliberately! What I am striving for here is a small, self-contained "ideal city organism," and that is only possible in the north of Munich, "fuori le mura"! In front of the motorway ring road, which is very tightly drawn in the north of the city due to special circumstances, the legitimate space requirements of the SS within the ring cannot be met, quite apart from the training area, which can now develop freely to the north due to its location in front of the ring.
Here are the spatial and transport conditions for a unique task that already inspired architects in ancient times and again in the Renaissance.

. But apart from the, as it is said, unattainable ideal form of urban planning, which is almost an architectural utopia, a dreamland that has not yet been built, I still consider the location of the buildings for the party's weaponry in the north of Munich, on the highway from Berlin, to be the right one.
Adolf Hitler had looked at me intently, with a certain amazement, I thought. Now he looked at Bormann. He smiled, perhaps because of my "utopia" or because I had placed the SS in the north of Munich and oriented it towards Berlin. But Adolf Hitler remained serious. How I arrived at these conclusions, and what further prerequisites would have to be in place in order to make my ideas recognizable, first in draft form and then in a model.
I went on to explain: Since I was commissioned to redesign Munich as the capital of the movement, the architectural representation of the party has been part of my job. In the SS, I see the beginning of a unity and a community that strives for new horizons in all areas, and that is precisely what I want to express in the construction of this ideal district. Whether it will succeed, I do not know. The architectural settings in Piero della Francesca's paintings, in which he places his statuesque figures, and Perugino's fresco in the Sistine Chapel, with its abstract architecture in the background
gave me the impetus for this.
And as a further prerequisite for working seriously on this design, I need your approval, my guide.
You have it, he said curtly.
After a short pause, he turned to Bormann: "Giesler already knows why he is orienting the SS buildings in Munich to the north and not to the south, because that would be upside down."
Bormann laughed, understanding the reference. Adolf Hitler continued: "I want to explore your architectural reference to Renaissance pictorial compositions painters, I want to look into that using illustrations; we'll talk about it later. But let's move on to the locations of the party buildings. For the
HJ, I assume you have planned the southeast of the city, in connection with the highway to Salzburg?"
Yes, I said, that is my opinion, the HJ buildings should be arranged along the road that leads to your homeland, to the Ostmark. Hopefully, the youth leadership will appreciate this location.
I wanted to refrain from a Hitler Youth forum. A central main building should be complemented by a park and sports area with pavilions in a relaxed and informal setting. This would create a deliberate contrast to the austere forum of the SA and the strict tectonic clarity of the SS castles.
It will be up to the young architects from the ranks of the H J to find the

right standards for this building complex, appropriate to young people. It should not take itself too seriously, and above all should not fall into the trap of monumentality. The "reception" given to the HJ buildings here had to correspond to the cheerful pre-Alpine landscape that was passed through, or, conversely, be a sign of the scenic beauty on the way south.

I also had a section of the site plan in my documents for the area from the city center, the Isartor square across the Isar double bridge, past the Deutsches Museum, up to the Gasteig and then across the wide feeder road to the motorway ring with the start of the motorway towards Salzburg.

This section of the plan included the Hitler Youth buildings, the new residential area Munich-South, the Ostbahnhof, and the location of the Gau leadership. But it seemed more prudent to wait and see. My proposals for the locations of the party buildings had been approved, which I had not expected. But now I was unsure, because the location and design of the Gau complex as I had imagined it were unusual, and I felt that I could only justify my ideas indirectly.

It was possible that decisions had already been made before I was commissioned with the redesign of Munich, of which I was unaware. When Adolf Hitler introduced me to the urban planning task in Munich, he only gave me general guidelines, talking mainly about traffic problems and not mentioning the party buildings in particular.

Hitler only gave me general guidelines, talking mainly about traffic problems and not mentioning the party buildings in particular. For personal reasons, I kept my distance from Gauleiter Adolf Wagner.

Look, Bormann? Giesler is hesitating and eating cookies? Let him enjoy it—it's about the Gau leadership, and it looks like a surprise to me. Yes, I said, that's how it seems to me too—I want to approach the location of the Gau leadership in a mental serpentine.

I then described the unique situation of the traditional Munich city center in relation to the then untamed Isar River. Old Munich was located on the western flat terrace of the Isar, with the old salt road crossing the river at a right angle from east to west. From the steep eastern bank,

the Gasteig, the road wound its way to the double bridge, which was supported by the gravel mound of the Isar island, and then to the Isartor, which was set far back from the river. After an arduous journey, the salt carriers reached the city.

They rested before setting off on the long journey to Salzburg along the high banks of the Isar.

to Salzburg. The city walls were often threatened by flooding and the bridges were torn away by the rushing water.

I can already guess where you are pointing, said Adolf Hitler, but continue.

In the 19th century, the city expanded beyond the medieval protective walls.

. The Isar was tamed, and the western flat banks were raised and secured. The city grew toward the river. Maximilianstraße was created, and a bridge spanned the Isar to the high banks on the east side. An architectural backdrop now formed the conclusion, like the Gloriette in Schönbrunn: the Maximilianeum. Semper was commissioned for this, and Sckell's successor created the greenery on the high bank.

This is how the urban connection between west and east came into being. This was repeated at the end of the 19th century further north with Prinzregentenstraße and Prinzregentenbrücke, with the magnificent conclusion of the street space, the "Friedensengel" (Angel of Peace).

The Maximilianeum is too much of a showpiece without any real substance, but the trend is clearly evident in both road bridges and the structural and pictorial markings: the city connects across the Isar, emphasizing the crossing of the river with the structure, thus making the union with the Munich-East district visible.

Ludwig I recognized early on the natural character of the high riverbank and its significance for Munich. In his day, he already had plans to build a road across the Isar from the city center, Max-Joseph-Platz at the Residenz. It was to have a significant conclusion: he planned to have a hall of fame built on the high riverbank! This would have given this street and the government forum connected to it a substance that would have had a binding effect on the design of the street. With the versatile walls of Max-Joseph-Platz by Karl von Fischer and Klenze at the beginning of the street and a hall of fame on the high bank of the Isar as its conclusion, an architect like Klenze

would have designed the street and square fronts in a confident and clear tectonic style. It is a pity that Ludwig I's idea never even made it to the drawing board, let alone was implemented.

Maximilianstraße was built in a variety of eclectic neo-Gothic and historicist styles. The design of this street clearly showed that Maximilian, the building's patron, did not have the stature of his father.

The hall of fame with the "Bavaria" found another location: on the edge of the Wiesn, which I find rather out of place and out of scale. Although Bavaria is a masterful casting, it is too large for the Hall of Fame and too small for the large, spacious ellipse of the Theresienwiese. Both lack the connection to the street and square that the green banks of the Isar would have provided.

But ultimately, the location and the Bavaria are truly Munich: accompanied by her house lion, she stands over 20 meters high, waving her wreath over the revelry of Oktoberfest, surrounded by the aroma of beer, bratwurst, and grilled fish. The Doric order of the hall of fame doesn't really fit in here, but the marble busts of great

Bavarian men do not take offense at the Dionysian revelry in Munich style.
How different—exciting, dignified, and yet quintessentially Munich—is Prinzregentenstraße in comparison to Maximilianstraße.
During my studies, I always spent Sunday mornings in the National Museum, and afterwards I always stood by the Isar to admire the unique achievement: the bridge with its forecourts and sculptures, the road layout on the high bank with the substructure of the "Friedensengel" (Angel of Peace), the fountain wall, and the structures for the serpentine steps and terraces, topped by the Korenhalle with its mosaics and the large fluted column with its gilded sculpture, more reminiscent of Nike than an angel.
The composition, the bridge, and the architecture, with their horizontal, diagonal, and vertical lines and all their sculptural elements, form a unified whole that blends harmoniously with the hillside, its trees, and the river. Even in Paris, I searched in vain for something comparable. Bormann, said Adolf Hitler, listen to the enthusiastic architect! Although we are familiar with all of this here, it is beneficial to consider it.
But now comes the reason for your choice of location for the Gau leadership... Judging by the 'introductory serpentine', it is the eastern high bank of the Isar, the "Gasteig," the location you have chosen for the Gau building?
Yes, this would continue a special feature of urban planning, the emphasis on the high banks: after the Friedensengel and the Maximilia- neum, the Gau building would now be located at the most important bridge crossing. There are three reasons for this. Seen from the Ludwigsbrücke, the built-up eastern part of the Gasteig is arbitrary and partly chaotic. This is where the redesign should start and bring order. It would be all the more pleasing if this resulted in a building with a unique shape, an octagon, like a crystal.
I unfolded the sketch and laid out the photos of a plasticine model. I didn't have to wait long for Adolf Hitler's reaction. He immediately mentioned the other two reasons for my choice of location for the Gau building:
"Here we have another urban planning surprise, Bormann! This building not only has a direct relationship to the city, but it is also oriented on all sides toward the eastern city streets and stands in the line of sight of the highway from Salzburg. The building is impressive due to
the clarity of its basic form.
What is the significance of this wing, which extends from the north into the interior? Pushing the courtyard? Ah, now I understand, it's the Bürgerbräukeller that you've incorporated into the Octagon! This connects the new Gau building with the tradition of the struggle. The inner courtyard makes a Gau forum unnecessary

— there's plenty of space in front of the Feldherrnhalle and the Königliche Platz. Giesler, this has all been thought through and makes sense — I agree!
We talked for a long time about the details and the architectural design. Adolf Hitler had already embraced the building idea and stated:
"The octagon will offer magnificent views—across the city to the party monument, but also into the Isar Valley. And I can also imagine this crystal-like building with its simple architecture very well from the city—nothing should distract from the basic shape. Giesler, make sure that the diameter of the octagon is kept as small as possible, as far as the inner courtyard allows. This will make the basic shape appear all the clearer.
The rational building design will certainly provide space not only for the Gau leadership but also for the Munich district leadership and for local group work in Munich's eastern district. Incidentally, the same guidelines I mentioned to you for Augsburg also apply to Munich: we do not want to give any cause for the party cadre to become bloated, including in the spatial design.
In further discussions, Adolf Hitler agreed to my suggestion
not to consolidate the party buildings into a closed complex. He said it was right to move the party buildings to the outskirts of the city to the west, north, and southeast, as this would give these areas urban significance, and they would all be conveniently located and not cause traffic congestion. In this way, these buildings, spread across the city, would not give a dead impression after work and on public holidays. Only in the peripheral areas would the accumulation of administrative buildings be tolerable; toward the city center, life would have to become denser without losing its traditional scale.
. The peripheral areas would also allow the party buildings to blend in with the green spaces and form a unified whole with the residential areas, schools, and community buildings.
Only in the current outskirts of the city could all this be achieved in terms of space, whereby the better opportunities for acquiring land
also played a significant role. When he considered that the party buildings would also serve as a "reception area," he saw only advantages in the locations I had specified.
The octagon of the Gau leadership was a justified exception to the suburban orientation of the other party buildings. The location corresponds to the district designation "Munich-Upper Bavaria." As I have explained, the building serves to anchor the old town across the Isar River in the district to the southeast, continuing the tradition of the First Awakening at this location and providing a destination and conclusion to the city road from the highway.
However, the location of the party headquarters is another exception. Giesler,

Adolf Hitler carefully checks all the details with his architect on the models. (High-rise Kraft-durch-Freude hotel on Bahnhofsplatz).

Construction models of the main station.

Model of the "Große Straße."
The new opera house based on Adolf Hitler's designs and created by Prof. Brinkmann. The last glance in the studio was always directed at the party monument.

Discussions around the model and plans. Top: Schaub, Hitler, Giesler, Morell, and Wünsche. Bottom: Schaub, Hitler, M. Bormann, and Giesler.

Assuming that the decision on the planning and start of construction of the party headquarters had not yet been made, everything was still open – which location would you suggest?
The same one! Based on sober thinking and a feeling for
the structural context of what is to be developed; it begins with the 'Brown House', followed by the 'Führerbau' and now the party headquarters – 'it all belongs together! This arrangement also serves the Pinakothek, which will be incorporated into the urban design with its planned wing extensions.
For me, the whole thing is a sensible continuation of Ludwig I's architectural ideas.
Giesler, Adolf Hitler said, you're right!
A question from Bormann led to a conversation about the redevelopment measures in the south of Munich, within the motorway ring. I suggested routing the Olympia-Straße from Garmisch and the planned motorway from Lindau through a park landscape without any special architectural features. On the southern outskirts, I wanted to designate residential areas that would be densified into closed settlements in Großhadern, Neuried, Fürstenried, and Solln. However, they should not flow into a sprawling settlement, but be separated by green spaces. The new and old urban fringes in the southern part of the city should be carefully planned and reviewed for possible improvements.
The cooperation between Munich's architects and landscape designers and the department proved its worth here. They were willing to contribute their skills, experience, and manpower to give the redesign a broad basis. The best of them should act as "trusted architects" between the municipal planning offices and the building permit authority in a completely unbureaucratic manner in order to achieve the jointly desired sensible redesign.
Adolf Hitler suggested that playgrounds and sports fields be provided in these green spaces. Small pavilions were to be built along the access roads to connect the residential areas with the sports and recreation facilities scattered throughout the green spaces. Small weather shelters, similar to the Monopteros, would also fit into the park landscape. Instead of masonry, pillars, and columns, industrially manufactured steel tubes would give the pavilion buildings the desired lightness, in keeping with the park-like character of these areas. Adolf Hitler then said: "What I had in mind for Munich is slowly taking shape in your plans... the breadth of the redesign in all areas of urban development is becoming visible! You are also right to insist that the motorway ring road should not constrict the urban space to the southeast and south. I am convinced that the drive to Munich via these roads to Lake Starnberg and back through the foothills of the Alps, with the welcome provided by a cultivated residential
and parkland will be a special experience!

Giesler, the decree you issued for Munich empowers you to exercise your authority beyond the city limits of Munich.
Take charge of Lake Starnberg, see it as Munich's bathing lake and local recreation area with convenient transport links. I want
the lake shore be cleared! This should be achieved step by step, not abruptly, but sensibly, starting with what can be achieved first: as far as the lake shore is state-owned, that should be the starting point. Are powers of attorney necessary?
Bormann, arrange this with Lammers, he can coordinate with the relevant authorities so that Giesler can get his way*. I took a cookie from the dish. Adolf Hitler looked at me and said:
Aha! Giesler wants time to think!
My leader, the matter concerning Lake Starnberg is an additional and not an easy task. There is already an authority responsible for this: the State Administration for Castles, Gardens, and Lakes. The architect Professor Esterer, whom I hold in high regard, works there. I would like to have him as an advisor and, as someone who is familiar with the local conditions, entrust him with the task of 'clearing the shores'.
"As an advisor? Yes, he is free to make suggestions from his point of view. But you cannot delegate the task and your authority; that would only lead to confusion."
Bormann pulled a scrap of paper from his side pocket, scribbled something on it, and slipped it into his other pocket. I was already familiar with this habit of his; it was like a knot in his handkerchief and a conversation note at the same time. But Bormann's next remark surprised me:
The professor wanted further explanations about the all-sidedly shaped...
There will be no facades of the party buildings along the east-west axis and above the "Geleit." That is still pending; the location issues for the remaining party buildings came up in the previous discussion and took priority.
That was typical of Bormann. It wasn't just how attentively he followed a conversation; it also revealed his qualities as the Führer's secretary. When Adolf Hitler then motioned me to continue, I had trouble picking up the train of thought that had been interrupted hours earlier.
I began my explanation again with the reception of the two motorways from Stuttgart and Lindau and the Pasing city road by the SA forum. Then I described the clear, uncluttered "escort" through the row of party buildings along the east-west axis to the new main station, to Große Straße and on to the city center. I spoke of the impressive transition from the open space via a new park landscape to the multifaceted architectural street space without rows of trees, but with
south arcades throughout the entire east-west axis; this also contrasted

a contrast to Große Straße with its double tree-lined avenues on the 20-meter-wide sidewalks.

In an open design, the party buildings were to be separated from each other by generous green spaces on either side. In the wide, panoramic view of the major traffic axis, they would still form a unified whole. I considered the tree-lined side areas to be a prerequisite for the desired individual design of the individual buildings and the free development of the personal style of the commissioned architects.

The usable depth of the site on both sides of the east-west axis would allow for buildings with spacious inner courtyards, thus enabling the work spaces to be turned away from traffic noise zones. The traffic situation of the building blocks necessitated facades that were valid on all sides, without rear sides or backyards.

This was particularly true for the building groups that would serve as a "guide" for the east-west axis, as well as, albeit at a spatial distance, for the "guide" of the railway tracks

"escort" of the east-west axis and, albeit at a distance, the "escort" of the tracks to and from the main station. I had insisted at the Ministry of Transport that the embankments of the lowered track bed be gently curved and planted with trees and shrubs. This would create a noble entrance for trains over a length of three kilometers to the new main station; an orderly "escort" for mass traffic between Nymphenburg Park in the north and the tree plantings in front of the facades of the party buildings in the south. In this version, the

technology of the tracks, the signal boxes, the masts, and the signals would appear like a steel filigree until the surprising reception by the wide station hall.

I was not interrupted, so I concluded:

I would like to add a comparison. Even the owner of a modest house feels obliged to provide an "escort." Flowers and shrubs next to a paved path lead to the entrance. It would be an absurd idea for the owner to lead his visitors there himself. Instead of through the specially shaped entrance door, past the septic tank, the compost heap, leftover hollow blocks, and the trash can to the coal cellar and then through the laundry room into the living area.

Crazy, you might say. But the thousandfold concentration of houses, the city itself, leads visitors along these strange paths into their "urban culture"! And the shameful thing is: no one thinks anything of it—they've gotten used to it.

The further away from the city center and the closer to the railroad tracks, the cheaper the property or rent—because of the noise and soot. So head for the tracks, head for the outlying streets with scrap yards, coal yards, and building material depots, with cheap workplaces and advertising. Add to that all the rotten stuff that the city has spewed out.

In Munich it's still bearable, but when you drive into the imperial capital, it's really bad! You stand at the window, sleepy from the night drive, and look at the "escort" of the backs of the houses, at the tarred
Firewalls alternate with urban canyons, all amid the din of passing trains. One sees unworthy dwellings with windows from bedrooms and kitchens; narrow windows, behind which are the toilets, no doubt, for there hang toilet brushes, cleaning rags, and all sorts of other things in the air. It's not just you who feels disgusted, even the morning feels disgusted. What a fate to have to live there! It's no different in Paris, if not worse!
Adolf Hitler listened to me, amused and then serious: Yes, that is probably one of the most depressing urban landscapes of the 19th century. But because we recognize this, it is up to us to change it!
This remained a binding directive. Of course, a city must offer affordable work spaces and create affordable housing. A city cannot do without storage areas and garbage dumps along streets and railways.
But everything can be brought into a new order. Proof of this was provided by our industrial and urban planning for Munich, an outstanding achievement by my colleagues at the time.
We had endeavored to build on Western architectural traditions and thus plan for the future. All plans for reconstruction, if any, remained unheeded in the archives. Perhaps there was a fear that something
from Adolf Hitler's world of ideas might be realized in the urban space. 196

Adolf Hitler on architecture

Expression and forms of architecture in the 20th century

One evening, Adolf Hitler spoke to me about technology and industrial development and explained the contemporary design forms of architecture.

We lived in an industrial world with a truly rapid development of technology. That is why it was particularly important not to lose our roots. Without a connection to what had grown organically, we would wither away.

He had already told me once that a figure from Greek mythology symbolically came to mind: Antaeus, who regained his strength every time he touched the ground. The fact that we believed we could find this strength in the eternally renewing and growing body of the people, especially in the peasantry, had nothing to do with romanticism or because it had always been that way. Rather, he saw it as the necessary counterweight to the industrialized economy and way of life. And it was precisely the industrial world that needed space, not only because of its rapid expansion, not only because of the raw materials that space provided here and there, but rather because this industrial world was inorganic and hostile to the environment and therefore needed to be balanced by organic space in order to remain in equilibrium.

He said he had become aware of this compelling necessity time and again when he had been in an industrial conurbation, such as the Ruhr area. Such conurbations meant a disturbance of the necessary balance
, a violation of the spatial structure, a violation of humane environmental conditions. In the long run, this leads to catastrophic consequences. Incidentally, this applies just as much to an unformed and therefore inorganic urban agglomeration.

The morphological clarity and harmony with the world of industry
industry and technology, i.e., our existence in the 20th century, has so far only been evident in individual areas. Apart from a few very successful industrial buildings, the breakthrough to universally valid form and design still lies ahead of us. This is the great task we face.

In past centuries, the harmony of all spheres of existence became visible through the cultural achievements of architects, sculptors, and painters, through the works of composers, poets, and philosophers. An abundance of exquisite talents created these works as a documentation of their time. In this diversity and perfection, they would probably never be achieved again.

An abundance of exquisite talents created these works as a documentation of their time. They will probably never be achieved again in this diversity and perfection.

With the 19th century, a change occurred; the great talents turned to new goals: technology and research in all fields. And it is precisely our present 20th century that offers talents and aspirants new opportunities for progressive creation. We must be modest; we cannot have everything, brilliant painters and at the same time brilliant researchers, technicians, and engineers who will ultimately bring our century to new shores:

In his philosophical reflections, Spengler asserts that the possibilities for new designs in architecture have also been exhausted, and therefore sees their future expression only in extensive forms. I only partially share his view. Certainly, today's technology and the building materials it has developed, steel and reinforced concrete, offer the possibility of new dimensions and thus of extensive building forms.

But in his visionary thinking, as a seer and interpreter of the decline of Western culture, Spengler disregarded the unpredictable. He overlooked the possibility of overcoming divisions and thus forming a new community of the people. This community of the people wants to and will manifest itself in buildings because it recognizes the inadequacy of its spatially unformed environment. It sees the disorder and chaos and sets demands and standards based on a conscious national and social obligation.

If this leads to excessive design, well, that has always been the case in times of high culture, even in urban communities that built cathedrals or minsters out of religious conviction or ambition, burdening generations to come. The only limit to the scale of these buildings was the technical and craftsmanship mastery of the building materials.

Spengler overlooks the essential social obligation associated with the industrial world and the natural consequences that arise from the constraints of technology and our times, to which we must respond: for example, the new order in urban planning. These are the great challenges of our century, and we cannot escape them. It may well be that spatial solutions lead to extensive designs, but at the same time, these new standards also give rise to new forms:

Are not the motorways with their bridges and their integration into the landscape the best proof of this? Compared to previous roads, they are certainly extensive, i.e., oversized. But does this not also reflect the new, modern technology of our time? They can exist on their own and yet form a unity with the automobiles and the

speeds. This results in harmony, consistency, and a new sense of space and time. The highways are a clear manifestation of our century; they are logically designed to meet technical requirements—who can deny that?

It will be perceived in exactly the same way one day when the redesign of cities corresponds to what we imagined: the new order in the urban organism, the transport systems, including Munich's main station, in complete harmony with the technology of modern trains, the major road axes with their parking areas in the road construction, the squares and halls, the humane residential areas. And how natural the new standard of this design will be perceived when—I emphasize this again and again—engineering and constructive thinking find unity with artistic feeling.

. Of course, the rank of the men who passionately grappled with the tasks that our time has set us is decisive:

In the case of motorways, Dr. Todt has achieved a breakthrough in timeless and definitive design. I repeat: a convincing synthesis of modern road and bridge construction technology for the means of transport of the 20th century, for the automobile and its speed on the one hand, and the landscape on the other. The highway, with its structures, bridges, overpasses, and underpasses, has become a valid part of the landscape. Not only does it blend in, it opens up the space and enriches it without disruption.

Everything is in flux; a new world, that of the 20th century, is emerging. We strive for wholeness as a people and a nation, and we also include our living space, our environment, in this wholeness. Wholeness must also be visible in spatial terms, as it already is with the motorway, and this must also be the case with future solutions to traffic problems, particularly in urban planning. Technical and artistic design, nature, and classicism will no longer contradict each other.

On scale

The architectural scale is rooted in the cultural consciousness of a nation, in the beliefs of a community, but also in the status of a personality.

Tectonics, the mastery of building materials, determines order and dimension.

But the architectural idea, the concept, the building materials, and the technology all together, serve the idea. No matter what or who triggered the idea of building, whether it was the self-confidence or pride of a city community or whether it was faith, conscious or unconscious, that pushed for new standards, ? they were created in the 19th

carried by generations, cathedrals and minsters of astonishing dimensions. Buildings were created with a bold tectonics that, even after a century of modern technology, still inspire our admiration, and spaces that command our awe. These communities of will have made their cities famous, their names have a special ring: Bamberg, Naumburg, Strasbourg,
Freiburg, Ulm. Yes, even Cologne Cathedral, whose construction was completed in the 19th century. Whenever I look across the Rhine to the cathedral, across the Danube to the minster, I feel the vital faith of these urban communities, which set themselves such a high standard in architecture.
It is interesting and revealing to study Merian's old city views. What are the proportions of the community's buildings, the churches, cathedrals, town halls, and towers, the
buildings according to the rank of a personality – the castle, the palace or the palace – compared to the size and extent of the city? Their silhouette is formed by the horizontal and vertical arrangement of their large buildings.
In some of Merian's engravings, the vertical lines may be somewhat emphasized, but what does that change? Even if they were reduced, the magnificent, harmonious cityscape would remain.
At that time, the city was still a manageable entity; I am particularly aware of this in Ulm. Here, I can imagine the boring suburbs away and concentrate on the view across the Danube to the cathedral. I think of how the people of Ulm, with their eyes on the future, built their cathedral so large that it could accommodate more than the city's population at the time. These were the architectural standards set by the Middle Ages.
Of course, such construction was an expression of piety, but also of the self-confidence of citizens in the strong bonds of their community,
which had not yet been divided in their thinking and feeling. This is also evident in this building. Ulm serves as an example for many other cities, such as Freiburg and Strasbourg.
The volume of construction was usually so large that it was a burden for generations, and the master builders and builders were always required to push the limits of tectonics and material mastery. They went to the limits of what could be achieved with stone as a building material. But I don't want to dwell on the dimensions of Ulm Minster in general, with its floor space of 8,200 square meters and its vertical height of 161 meters. I am thinking of a horizontal-vertical urban planning scale, of the imperial city of Augsburg. Opposite the cathedral and the bishop's seat on the site of the Roman Lech-Kastell Augusta Vindelicorum, the citizens built their own church, St. Ulrich, in the Middle Ages. Between these buildings

of the bishop and the citizens lies one of the most beautiful medieval thoroughfares: Maximilian Street, the backbone of the city. For its time, it was unusually spacious, lined with magnificent town houses, including those of the Fugger, Welser, and Schaezler families, many of which were decorated with frescoes and architectural paintings, as is characteristic of the buildings in the Lech and Iller landscape.

But that was not all: the citizens of Augsburg, proud of their city, commissioned the city architect Elias Holl to erect buildings that would represent the city. He built them the town hall – more of a city hall – with spacious halls and the magnificent Golden Hall. The seven-story building was topped by a triple spire with the golden imperial eagle in the center, above which was the gable, ending in the Roman symbol, the pine cone, the pyr of the legionaries. Both the imperial eagle and the pyr form the city's coat of arms.

Next to the town hall, Elias Holl designed the Perlachturm tower, which is characteristic of Augsburg. He built the armoury with its sculptural façade, the butcher's market, gates and water towers. But something was still missing from the street: the sculpture and something specific to this landscape, namely water. They combined both elements. Outstanding sculptors and metal casters decorated the streets and squares with fountains, which were fed by the white water of the Lech River.

The bourgeoisie now manifested itself significantly in the scale of its buildings, not in a cathedral like the one in Ulm, but in what was probably the most beautiful town house in southern Germany and in a magnificent street.

When we look at cultures, we see that peoples with shared beliefs, religious movements, and great individuals are equally eager to express themselves in architecture. Throughout history, they have pushed the boundaries of building standards to the limits set by the materials available and the technical possibilities of the time. Indeed, we often ask ourselves: How did they manage to do that? These limits were set by the tectonics of stone construction. They found their unique expression in Greek temples, most beautifully in the Parthenon, then in the tectonics of Roman vaults, in the Pantheon, and finally in the astonishing stone vault constructions of medieval cathedrals.

Steel and reinforced concrete have now opened up new possibilities for tall and spacious designs. In the last century, engineers began to set the tone with bold constructions: the Eiffel Tower, bridges with large spans, mass transportation facilities, and thus new standards for space and time, plus countless examples of industrial construction in the form of large plants, towers, and halls for commercial purposes. But these magnificent engineering achievements

only a few attempts were made to transform them into a tectonic form, which was not only possible but absolutely necessary.
At that time, architects were very hesitant—if at all—to break away from the eclecticism of the historicist style era.
The Americans, with no traditional ties, are ahead of us in this respect. Their high-rise buildings and skyscrapers reveal engineering thinking and structurally determined construction with design by architects. But one senses that this vertical tendency is motivated by commercial thinking and favored by rocky ground.
For me, this gigantic verticalism at the expense of the horizontals necessary for urban planning is a brutality without scale. I am thinking in general of Manhattan and in particular of the recklessness with which the Rockefeller Center has been built, with the status that big capital claims. You know the situation: this has nothing to do with urban planning, nothing to do with scale... these are symbols of cold-hearted calculation of cost and profit, represented by the piling up of 70 stories and more of steel, concrete, and glass. What this really means can be seen in the adjacent neo-Gothic church, which becomes a catacomb in these canyons. Manhattan must be oppressive, but for Americans it is a source of pride to have built the tallest functional buildings in the world.
That we too will build high-rise buildings in the future, indeed that we must build them – we will build them, not erect or pile them up – is clear for various reasons. But these high-rise buildings must be sensibly integrated into the respective urban planning situation, and they must be recognized as a necessary vertical tendency, as a benchmark for urban design. They only find their justification when their design expresses the unity of engineering and architecture, i.e., of thought and feeling. Beyond the determined statics, a new tectonics must become visible, one that is unique to steel and reinforced concrete.
What possibilities for design and urban planning does this offer us! Thanks to continuous improvements in the strength of steel and reinforced concrete, as well as in calculation methods, a unique structural tectonics has developed, which is particularly evident in our bridge structures and factory buildings. Buildings made of steel and reinforced concrete have been refined and have become elegant and graceful.
We will therefore continue to design our buildings in the clear tectonics of stone, also in combination with vaulting technology, wherever we deem it appropriate. But at the same time, we will also design with the building materials developed by 19th-century technology, with steel and reinforced concrete, where this serves the purpose and the goal we are striving for. In doing so, however, we must always seek to achieve harmony between form, thought, and feeling.

But it is also necessary to look back. It is not only important to recognize the deep roots of the "scale" of architecture and urban planning, but also to understand everything that influences, promotes, or hinders design. Political aspects, for example. Someone recently tried to explain to me that it was precisely in democracy that the most noble building was constructed according to the most divine and human scale, the Parthenon! Yes, I said, but the Parthenon is not rooted in democracy, but in the cultural consciousness of the Hellenes and in the stature of Pericles... but also in the stature, the unique stature of the artists who designed the Parthenon: the architect Iktinos and the sculptor Phidias!

The Parthenon cannot be attributed to the democracy of the city-state because it coincides with the form of government at that time. Democracy does not promote personality; it neither creates the climate nor provides the breeding ground for anything that wants to rise above the material. The political situation from the 19th century to the present day also proves this. No political direction has gained influence over urban planners and architects. "Not everything is possible at all times"—I don't know who said that.

Architecture is not only the language of stone, it is the expression of the beliefs and convictions of a community, or it characterizes the power, greatness, and fame of a personality, a ruler, a pope, a prince

or conviction of a community, or it characterizes the power, greatness, and fame of a personality, a ruler, a pope, a prince,

or a Marxist like Lenin.

Ultimately, however, it is not scale alone that decides, but the design and arrangement in space, in the urban organism. These vertical giants of Manhattan must be seen in this context. They are by no means architectural landmarks or symbols of American democracy; they are much more an expression of a gigantomachy of materialism and capital against a genuine status that is due to the expression of a community or the order of the state. But Manhattan did not find tolerance alone,

also the promotion in a democracy that made this confusion of standards possible.

But confusion in urban planning lies not only in the concentration of skyscrapers, but also in the horizontal mush of a sprawling city that is growing into a shapeless mass. This, too, represents a loss of scale. We are, as Nietzsche puts it, "compelled to reestablish the hierarchy," and this is only possible by taking all urban planning contexts into account. It must not lead to the idea of "higher, more powerful"—rather, "as high as necessary." For even on a small scale, even horizontally, rank and scale can assert themselves.

I would like to make a point that leads to a comparison of the scale of roads. It goes without saying today that we build new roads taking future traffic densities into account. The fact that we create intersection-free roads

is obvious to anyone who thinks sensibly. I sketched these car-friendly road profiles back then in the Landsberg fortress.
But you have to remember that over seventy years ago, when no one thought about cars, the Paris building commission presented Prefect Haussmann with a road project that led from the Place de l'Etoile, past the Bois de Boulogne, into the open countryside*. This road was initially planned with 40 lanes, then 60, and finally presented Prefect Haussmann with a road project that would lead from the Place de l'Etoile, past the Bois de Boulogne, into the open countryside*. This road was initially planned to be 40 meters wide, then 60 meters wide. The deputies summoned all their courage, as it seemed to them that this width was very daring – that much is certain. However, Haussmann crossed out the 60-meter entry on the plan and decreed a width of 120 meters!
A native of Africa or Australia, looking at it from his bush paths, might describe a road of such width as excessive and nonsensical. For the Paris of that time, Haussmann's decision was remarkable, but for the Paris of today it is entirely appropriate. At the same time, this road opened up a new area of the city.
Many more examples could be cited to help us find a basis for determining the scale. It would have to take into account the fact that since the 19th century, cities have often grown tenfold in size and population. This would be the spatial component of the scale in horizontal and vertical dimensions, whereby
it is clear from the outset that we will never achieve – not even approximately – the scales of past centuries, nor do we aspire to do so.
This comparison of scale is always on my mind; I need only think of Ulm Minster: it is truly incredible that a community of around 12,000 inhabitants built a church that can accommodate over 20,000 of its members!
It was no different in the field of sculpture! The Sphinx, the colossal statues of the Egyptians, the sculptures of Phidias, the huge statue of Athena Promachos on the Acropolis—according to tradition, its golden spearhead shone as far as the ships in Piraeus! All cultures have manifested themselves in large-scale sculpture. But let us leave it at the statuary "Roland" of German cities.
On my trip to Rome and Florence, I realized once again
In what a pitiful architectural setting, with what distortions of scale, we in Berlin, the capital of the Reich, are expected to represent the nation and the state. Not only in comparison with the cityscape—how dominant Vienna or Prague appear here—but also in terms of the substance of the buildings, and here in general comparison with the buildings of the plutocracy, which dominate Manhattan
at heights of up to 380 meters.
We are taking the liberty of setting a new standard that corresponds to our nation and

unity. In doing so, we will restore the hierarchy. Although I am clearly aware of the necessity of the tasks, I am ultimately dependent on the artists who are available for the design.

Of course, we will be exposed to criticism when everything we want to build becomes known: what we want to build: the Great Road, 120 meters wide, the community halls, the party buildings, the monuments. In terms of size and scale, we are still far behind the architectural works of antiquity, the great eras of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

works of antiquity, the great eras of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. But the critics will cry out: 'Excess and megalomania'. Haussmann also had to put up with this when he created the gigantic road system for Paris with the reorganization of the city's structure. The same thing happened when Ludwig I began to expand the old city center of Munich and give it new urban accents by having Ludwigstraße, Briennerstraße, and Königsplatz built. But can we even imagine Munich today without Ludwig I's buildings? I think they are what give Munich its atmosphere, and they represented a harmonious extension of the old town then as they do today.

Giesler, you have no insight into the malicious scribblings that take place outside our borders day in, day out! Emigrated journalists who consider themselves world-class intellectuals start spreading gossip in the press before we have even begun to build. They cry, "Megalomania!" Yes, that must be something terrible! They mean megalomania, a buzzword used by these petty-minded intellectuals who understand everything and nothing.

Megalomania, then, was the cause of all buildings that rise above the horizon of these hypocrites and destroyers! The pyramids and temples are excessive, and megalomania is at the root of the Colosseum, the thermal baths, and the basilicas. The cathedrals, minsters, and domes are excessive—even those of Florence and St. Peter's with Bernini's tongs—as are Haussmann's street system, the Champs Elysées, the Eiffel Tower, and everything else. It all stems from megalomania!

Manhattan? For us, yes, but not for these scribblers: No,
is all justified and meaningful and beautiful—just not what we want to build, because that is "megalomania"!

Classicism

In the conversations Adolf Hitler had with me between 1940 and 1945 about architecture and urban planning, he frequently used the term "Classicism." What he meant by that and where he recognized classicism was initially surprising to me in 2005.

. In the evening after our trip through Paris, he said to me in his quarters in Bruly le P2che: "The façade of Notre Dame impressed me greatly with its dignity and classicism!"

Was his impression of classicism formed by the closed, majestic tranquility that characterizes the facade of Notre Dame, despite its strongly sculptural form? Or was it the horizontal interpenetration

in the vertical striving, a lightness in Romanesque earthiness? A few months later, Adolf Hitler spoke to me about the westwork of Strasbourg Cathedral; where he found other words, such as: enchanting, idiosyncratic dissolution in Gothic verticals? dreamlike inwardness? one forgets that this westwork is made of stone? it is completely dematerialized; and then he mentioned again the classicism of the facade of Notre Dame and added: with the echo of Romanesque unity.

Later, in 1942, in the Führer's headquarters in Winniza, late one night, he spoke again about the concept of "classicism." He said that he often found misunderstood; when he uses the word "classicism," he does not mean anything to do with style, classical elements, or architectural forms.

Rather, he wanted to use it to describe the clear, disciplined order that stands in contrast to disorder and arbitrariness. For him, classicism

also meant for him the harmony between architectural ideas and construction, between artistic sensitivity and the appropriate use of materials, all of which then came together to form a unified whole in all areas of design.

He wanted to avoid the word "exemplary" because he felt it profaned the concept. What he meant was a form of design to which nothing could be added or taken away: timeless finality.

Bridges in steel

In 1938, Dr. Todt showed me the design for a motorway bridge over the Rhine. Rhine. I recognized, said Adolf Hitler, that it was not only an outstanding feat of engineering, it was more than just the result of one-sided static calculations. The design was the result of collaboration between engineers and architects. The bridge has now been built. It possesses the classicism that we must strive for in all our structures, and it has timeless validity*.

He elaborated on this idea. In the design of this bridge, steel was given the justice it deserved as a building material, and the structural forces and tension were convincingly expressed. The bridge enriched the landscape, and when driving over it, one could sense how the river gained in significance.

This was the goal for the design in steel. It was the joint effort of the skilled engineers and architects to ensure that the design concept did not remain in the material or in sober calculations, but that the form was led to the tectonics inherent in steel, to a classic technical finality.

After a while, he said that this was precisely what was lacking in the newly built Nibelungen Bridge in Linz, even though he believed the planning was in the best hands. Even a well-designed bridge forecourt with sculptures would not help. The visual significance of the bridge itself did not lie solely in the level at which it was used, driven over, and walked on; rather, the assessment of a bridge structure was based on the view from the banks, from the Stromberg to the valley, or from the river.

Even during my first visit, when I was introduced to the Linz project, he had noticed that the bridge did not meet his expectations. If I wanted to justify my rejection, he said, I could do so in all openness.

I believe it lacks a construction concept, I said, as well as a sense of liveliness and scale. The Nibelungen Bridge is not designed as a city bridge, unlike the Santa Trinita Bridge in Florence and especially the Prinzregenten Bridge in Munich. These are two of the most beautiful city bridges I know. The Pont Alexandre III bridge over the Seine in Paris, a steel arch bridge, is another example, although it could do without the World's Fair decor. At least it is a typical city bridge.

In contrast, the steel girder construction over the Danube in Linz is more reminiscent of a railway or motorway bridge in open countryside. Seen from the side

, it has no connection with the city's building standards. A flat arch bridge, crossing the river at regular intervals with a wide central section, serves the urban space better than these heavy steel beams*.

What's more, the steel girders in Linz are so high that they confuse the scale. The scale dissonance is particularly noticeable from the side view from the banks when a tram crosses the bridge. If a beam bridge is to be built, then a pedestrian bridge section supported on widely projecting consoles would give the heavy steel beams a horizontal profile. The vertical dimension would be subdivided, which, together with the shading, would have led to a visual loosening of the structure.

For a brief moment, I was tempted to add to my criticism that of the Salzburg architect Reitter, who had demonstrated his skill in the construction of Klessheim Castle. Reitter—we were connected through our shared training as architects—asked me to support his defense. He had said indignantly:

"The same pontiffs who are responsible for this bridge in Linz have now been commissioned to design the Salzburg bridge.

have now been commissioned to design the Salzburg bridge. That's impossible! As a Salzburg resident, I and my partner are available to work on the design, and let there be no misunderstanding: without any compensation!"

But Adolf Hitler had heard enough. He said almost gruffly: "You are responsible for the two additional bridges in the Linz city area!"

I assured him that I would do my best to follow good examples, and before taking any risks, I would check the bridge designs against precise models and then seek his decision.

Adolf Hitler concluded by remarking that, as I knew, before commissioning me with Linz, he had asked Speer, Gall, and Kreis for designs for individual structures. In future, I would have to select the architects who were suitable for individual buildings in Linz and with whom I would like to work later. He did not want any discord.

I listened and looked at him, his face was closed. Much later, I found the explanation, which came from an interesting context*.

Language and architecture

We had been talking about building materials and how the temple, with its rectangular floor plan, was originally built of wood before it was given its current Doric design in stone.

I dare to make a comparison, said Adolf Hitler. A publication in an American architecture magazine gives me the opportunity to do so. It is quite possible that with this comparison—more, it is a parable—I find myself at odds with the anointed art historians and aesthetes, but it is my way of seeing things. Just as the words that are familiar to us have formed our mother tongue over long periods of time, giving expression to our thoughts and feelings, so too has the building, the language of architecture, developed. It arose from the combination of natural building materials. But it is important to note that the building idea was and always should be at the beginning.

The material was taken and shaped according to human nature and environmental conditions; thus, to remain in the Mediterranean region, the tholos and the megaron were created. In the most primitive beginnings of humankind, when people emerged from caves, only wood, clay, and stone may have been significant materials, but as words formed sentences, building materials also served to join and shape structures according to architectural concepts.

New words were formed, new words were added from Greek and Italian cultural languages and from Italian and French linguistic contexts, because words are interchangeable; they are materials

and are adopted like building blocks. Sentences now gain breadth, clarity, and plasticity, and thoughts can be communicated in a more differentiated and expressive way.
In buildings, too, the building materials come together to express themselves; according to the building idea, they differentiate themselves distinctly into supports and loads, and thus architecture begins. The wall surfaces are streamlined, pillars and columns, architraves and beams enrich and expand the possibilities of expression, vaults and domes lead to new dimensions.
This is how it has been throughout the centuries, understood and recognized by all as valid. Styles come and go: new ideas and insights push for design. Buildings merge into the urban unity of a community, joined by temples or cathedrals, the palace of the sovereign, the buildings of the community, and yet everything differentiates itself according to its nature and environment into the mother tongue of architecture.
And as different as the combinations of all buildings into urban organisms may be in terms of their nature, language, and landscape, they are understandable in the Western cultural sphere. At the same time, their individual characteristics are accentuated: this is Rome, this is Paris, this is Vienna, Prague, or Munich.
In the 19th century, this expressiveness disappeared from buildings and urban planning, architectural concepts took a back seat, and the idea of building was stifled by material considerations.
From the turbulence of events and developments in all areas
that characterized the 19th century, I have chosen two examples to illustrate my comparison between language and architecture: Esperanto, the attempt to create a universal language, and the building materials steel, concrete, and glass, which were developed through industrial technology. Esperanto, an artificial universal language without tradition or soul. It could not and cannot prevail over a living language that has grown over time. Esperanto was also pointless in practical terms. The advantage that the English language had gained in the 19th century through its worldwide spread was too significant.
The situation is quite different in architecture and urban planning! New building materials are being given priority in architectural design that they do not deserve. The architectural differentiation based on race, character, and landscape is in danger. Esperanto of architecture? That is the impression I have gained. I am following this development, which is particularly evident in America, in the architecture magazines that I receive from ambassadors from neutral countries. The immigrants brought the building culture of their countries to America: the Spanish, French, and English brought porticoes with columns and jambs from Palladio's world of forms. German engineers designed bridges; neoclassicism found expression in American insouciance in the buildings of the state, government institutions, and banks. And

then, something typically American, a vertical tendency in previously unknown dimensions!

Here, too, we see the American recklessness, the complete disregard for horizontal proportions in urban planning, which are, after all, a compelling and logical prerequisite for the vertical uniformity of skyscrapers. And here, new building materials are used excessively, in a fashionable and engineering-driven way, resulting in a purely material expression.

We too will build high-rise buildings in cities where densification and a vertical trend are necessary, but we will observe the necessary humane distances.

The propagandists of the "living machine," the German architects of the Bauhaus and the Weissenhof Estate, joined the ranks of Wright's independent American architectural achievements. In their designs, the new building materials steel, reinforced concrete, and glass no longer serve the architectural concept; they become self-aggrandizing, and their technical approach overshadows the architectural idea.

The structural and technical possibilities offered by steel and concrete were exploited with magical virtuosity, and formal structures were developed that tended toward heavy-handed one-sidedness. An Esperanto architecture emerged, the alienation was obvious, with the conscious or unconscious intention of achieving an international expression or material style.

This "style," if it deserves the name, is detached from tradition and continuity, from the landscape and its people, and thus also from architectural composition as it has been understood up to now.

The design of buildings in the general area of workplaces—factories of all kinds, laboratories, airport buildings—is simply convincing; they correspond to disciplined order and rigor; here they are clear shells for technical processes, and the design corresponds to the work flow: These buildings are components of the technology of our time; they are exemplary, model examples!

I distance myself from romantic exaltation and anachronism in buildings, such as when a gas station, located on a modern highway, attempts to demonstrate its connection to the landscape with a wooden gable! It should be clear that this is a place where cars are fueled, not horses!

However, it is different when the materially dominant technology of steel and reinforced concrete overshadows the architectural concepts of living or the ideas and thoughts about building, which, in accordance with their status, require architecture in the best sense of the word, an architecture that corresponds to the nature of human beings and their landscape.

Strasbourg Cathedral? Autumn 1940

Strasbourg Cathedral was a powerful experience for me! Visible from afar, the tower stood as a landmark above the former free imperial city. Before the 19th century, this tower was the tallest structure in Europe—but what does that mean compared to the structure itself? Just a few days earlier, we had driven past Notre Dame, and I had been struck by the classicism of the façade, despite its Gothic design.

The westwork of the cathedral offers a completely different impression. From the narrow street, you look up at the enchanting portal with the rose window floating above it. Despite its discipline, this is an unconventional solution, like a dream, an inner world depicted in stone, which leads you into the cathedral.

Never before has a church interior moved me so deeply. The interpenetration and yet unity of the nave with the older transept, the mysterious crossing, and the choir—it is a spatial harmony of majestic dignity. I stood for a long time between the slender pillars under the octagonal crossing dome and had the feeling that the space was more than three-dimensional. Amazement, awe, and reverence fill it, as if it were filled with singing or the sound of ancient instruments! Perhaps it was also because I had just emerged from the turmoil of war that I experienced this solemn space in such a way.

Beyond the dimensions of the space, one senses its connection to times past: the Ottonian original building marks the beginning, and the powerful masonry was erected in the Staufer period in 211.

The cathedral was built over hundreds of years. One thinks back to those times of the empire and to the fact that at that time this garden of Alsace was the heartland of the empire, the Alemannic cultural landscape of Europe.
The Protestant Church has approached me. It is claiming the cathedral back. But should what happened in Alsace over the centuries now be repeated at the cathedral on a denominational level? This German, Alemannic cultural region, from which this cathedral also emerged, came to France in the 17th century, returned to the empire in 1871, back to France in 1918, and is now German again.
In the cathedral, in the crossing of this solemn space, I made the decision: I will place the cathedral above denominations. I will give it a purpose that befits its significance, and in doing so I will honor all those who created this building. Here, the unknown soldier of this war will find his final resting place.

Linz

The commission? Autumn 1940

Giesler, I know how overworked you are, but I must nevertheless burden you with another task: the redesign of Linz as an overall master plan. Consider this a formal commission! You are hereby authorized to issue instructions to all relevant authorities; your powers for the redesign of Munich also apply mutatis mutandis to Linz. Gauleiter Eigruber has been informed and is looking forward to working with you.

Now for my personal request: Beyond this urban planning task, I would like to engage you as architect for Linz. I would like you to design the development of the Danube embankment, and I would also like to see your designs for various buildings in which I am particularly and personally interested. This is a personal request. Linz is my hometown, the city of my youth, and I would like to spend my twilight years in Linz. This city means a great deal to me.

It was in the second year of the war, in the fall of 1940. Adolf Hitler had summoned me to the Berghof. On Saturday night, we traveled to Linz in his train. Early in the morning, we stood on the Urfahr side of the Danube and looked across at the old town of Linz.

Adolf Hitler explained his thoughts to me: I want Linz to become
the new development towards the river! He then discussed the details: the bridges over the Danube, the flood levels, and the necessary clearance for shipping.

He indicated the location for certain groups of buildings. Everything was well thought out, everything had its reason: the characteristics of the terrain were taken into account, as was the effect of the building designs in sunlight. He took me by the arm to the towpath along the Danube and pointed to the Römerberg with the building without scale, the castle barracks, where he wanted me to build his house, his retirement home: "From there, I can see Linz and the Danube."

He pointed to the cliffs sloping steeply down to the old town and the Danube. We crossed the Nibelungen Bridge, which was still under construction, and returned to the Linz side. Adolf Hitler stopped at the bridgehead:

See for yourself, the Urfahr side has been neglected and insignificant until now. How will that change with the new city hall, then the town hall and the "Platz an der Donau" with a striking tower next to the large...

From here, the buildings will stand out vividly in the bright sunlight, making Linz the "city on the Danube." Here, at this spot, will stand the sculptures of the Nibelungs, which give the bridge its name. The sculptor Count Plettenberg has been commissioned to create them.
Down there, downstream, our planned development should end with a highlight. That is where the third bridge over the Danube will span. In connection with the bridgehead on the Urfahr side, a Bismarck monument is to be erected. This is immediately followed by the open Danube landscape with its tree-lined meadows.
I looked at him questioningly; he understood and explained that Bismarck was a symbolic figure for the people of Linz, embodying the German Empire, and that they had always felt German.
Professor Kreis had designed a Bismarck monument years ago, a powerful circular building with a central room, a good design that had won an award but had never been built. This circular building must be built in simplified in its external design, making it timeless. He could well imagine this rotunda as the finishing touch to the development on the left bank, as an architectural punctuation mark. It would stand there not only to commemorate Bismarck, but also as a monument to the annexation of his homeland to the Reich. remind people of Bismarck, but as a monument to the annexation of his homeland to the Reich.
Adolf Hitler turned around and pointed to the hill in front of us:
Look, there—that is the Pöstlingberg, crowned by a baroque pilgrimage church. I would like to incorporate it into the scenery of the city and the landscape and give it meaning. We will talk about that later.
Afterwards, we walked through the city center. Adolf Hitler led us to the most beautiful buildings in the old town and showed us the "Landhaus" with its magnificent gates and famous Renaissance arcaded courtyard. He also told us stories from his youth: "I saw my first opera in this little theater; it was 'Rienzi.'"
Then we drove to the blast furnaces of the Reichswerke and walked through the gigantic halls of the rolling mills. He told me that he had brought steel to Linz. With this plant, he said, the future of the city was secure.
On the way back and at the Berghof, we talked about cities on rivers: London, Paris, Dresden, and Budapest. Late at night, I said goodbye. "Make Linz the most beautiful city on the Danube!" said Adolf Hitler.
As far as my war duties allowed, I worked with a few colleagues on the plans for Linz. Adolf Hitler often called me to his headquarters, full of impatience. I would then present him with sections of the plans and individual designs. Sometimes I stayed for weeks. During the war years, his preoccupation with urban planning and architecture was the distraction he allowed himself.

Between military briefings or during the night hours before the final reports from the front, we worked together on the
plans for his Linz. Based on his ideas, the designs for the
"Stadthaus" were created.
He provided suggestions and advice for the "tower on the Danube." I designed his retirement home for him in the austere cubic form of an Austrian farmhouse, a Vierkant. To open up the view of the city, the river, and the landscape, I added protruding, wide-open bay windows to the corners of the building, similar to those of the Upper Belvedere, which Adolf Hitler had also admired as interior rooms.
Whenever he had the opportunity, he visited me in my Munich studio to see the overview models of Linz that were gradually taking shape. I returned to the Berghof repeatedly with partial models and plans. Once I accompanied him on a trip to Linz to inspect the Reichswerke and tank production at the Nibelungenwerk.
imposing tanks were on display. The day came to a stark contrast at the St. Florian monastery. We spent a long time in the baroque church of the monastery, where conductor Jochum played compositions by Bruckner on the famous organ.
Then Adolf Hitler decided on outstanding urban planning issues in Linz. He agreed to my suggestion to include the new Technical University in the development on the banks of the Danube as the dominant conclusion to the building complex on the right bank of the Danube, on the Linz side.
During the weeks of fierce attacks by overwhelming Russian armies on the Reich capital in February 1945, I was with Adolf Hitler. He lived in the command bunker, amid the ruins of Berlin, in a state of unparalleled tension, yet in the night hours he found time for conversations about plans and design, about everything that moved him.
As his architect, who was very close to him, I was able to give Adolf Hitler
final gift: the finished model of the Danube embankment development in his hometown of Linz.
The "Tower on the Danube"
Adolf Hitler pointed to the Danube lands on the Urfahr side:
Here, after the bend in the river, I imagined the 'Tower on the Danube'. The tower shaft would be free-standing, like a campanile, yet connected to the large 'Hall of the People's Community'. But move it forward energetically into the trapezoidal space that opens up towards the Danube, let the staircase tiers start at the tower and converge towards the base. In this way, the tower will consolidate the riverbank, tie the square together and anchor the hall building.

This tower is in the right location here between Stromberg and Stromtal, as seen from the Linz side of the city, also in the bend of the river. A stone arbor may connect the tower and the hall choir and lead to the tower stairs.
I would like the tower to be of limited height. There is already a significant tower on the Danube, the 161-meter tower of Ulm Minster. Keep this tower one meter lower than the Minster tower! I do not wish to offend the people of Ulm, who are rightly proud of the achievements of their ancestors in the Middle Ages.
This gives you the proportions. The tower should be typical of the Danube landscape.
The "Tower on the Danube" stands in the light, with its spire rising 160 meters above the city, is hit by the first rays of the sun in the morning and the last in the evening, over the Römerberg, while dusk is already falling in the Danube valley. Therefore, let the spire end in a gilded filigree.
Inside the tower, starting at the base, you will see a vaulted room. The stairs to the top of the tower lead you over the connecting arbor so that the vaulted room is not restricted. This vault will be the burial place of my parents*.
Adolf Hitler put down the pencil with which he had marked the location of the tower and said quietly:
I would like a carillon on the tower, not for everyday use; but on certain days, a motif from Bruckner's Fourth, the Romantic Symphony, should be played. It is suitable for a carillon, this peculiar melody that touches me so strangely.
He stood up, taking my arm: "You understand me, Giesler.
"The heavens praise the glory of the eternal."
I had prevailed with my opinion: the hillside above Urfahr had previously been earmarked as the location for the new Technical University of Linz
, which, taking into account the standards, had to be designated as a purely residential area. Now the technical university was to form the conclusion of the Danube bank development downstream on the Linz side. After a short, tree-lined interval, the impressive silhouette of the blast furnaces and halls of the Reichswerke followed after the harbor.
I discussed the details of the building plans for the new Technical University with Adolf Hitler. He agreed with me that the new location was right; it would connect the Technical University more closely with the city, so that even on a relatively large scale it would no longer be isolated. The 216

students were now part of the urban community and, thanks to this spatial proximity, were already more closely connected to the new residential areas, the sports facilities, and, above all, to cultural life, with the theater, the music hall, the gallery, and the library. The young students would help to revitalize the old and new streets, especially our planned Laubenstraße.
The impressive group of buildings with the auditorium only really comes into its own thanks to the electricity, and here, on the land behind, there is also enough space for the institutes, although he would like to add a research institute for metallurgy to the university, which would enable practical cooperation with the Reichswerke through laboratories.
This would create an interrelationship: theory and research, teaching and practice would be combined here, and students would grow into their future roles in this field. At the same time, students would have the opportunity to deal with economic and business management issues and become familiar with social management.
He had decided to expand the previous framework of a technical college and give this new TH a more universal significance in terms of its structure. Research institutes for microcosm and macrocosm were also to be affiliated. However, it made sense to separate these institutes from the location on the Danube. He thought that the Urfahr-Höhe, the Pöstlingberg, would be suitable for this. An observatory would have to be accessible to the public. A planetarium would also have to be planned. He had always imagined it up there.
Adolf Hitler pointed to the overview plan with the elevation lines marked on it:
Here, on the hilltop, stands the pilgrimage church, a Baroque building. I pointed this out to you during our first conversation about the spatial and landscape conditions.
As soon as the construction program can be reviewed, the two institutes should be designed, each separately, but connected in a generous concept. The complex must be formed into a quiet, horizontal group of buildings crowning the mountain. The church is incorporated into this composition, and its east-west orientation determines the axis of the buildings. As the only vertical element, the church must also have spatial priority. The institutes, which are to be arranged on the sides in a closed formation, must be set back as far as necessary to preserve the silhouette as seen from the Danube valley.
In the center of the courtyard of the institute on the right, you can see the central room with the dome of the planetarium. The church itself stands alone, its status preserved by the spatial arrangement. The following words are to be carved into the gable architrave between the towers: "The heavens praise the glory of the eternal."

Munich at a glance

Energy and heat ? 1939/40

The first decisive impetus, which came from the large, clear working model of the east-west axis, led to a new design for the main station. This established urban equality between rail and road. The second significant step was the idea of the road construction project.

Now a third impetus came from this urban planning model, because the manageable size of the buildings led to the question: How do I supply these new buildings with heat? It seemed to me that this was an easy requirement to meet on a manageable scale. But at the end of the careful planning, we were faced with a fascinating engineering task that went far beyond its urban significance and was of great economic importance.

The engineer Adolf Gerke had been my advisor on heating technology issues for years. We stood in front of the model, and I explained my ideas and requirements to him:

I can only imagine a central district heating supply for these buildings on the east-west axis. The construction of urban areas requires a higher-level supply of water and electricity. And just as important is the disposal of waste water through the sewer system to mechanical and biological treatment plants.

Why shouldn't heat and hot water also be supplied in a centralized and fluid manner? I can't imagine that in every building here—I pointed to the model—chimneys are smoking, stokers are stoking boilers, coke is being transported back and forth, and everyone is producing their own hot water and heating.

So why not plan this supply according to modern standards, both for the new main station and, as a higher-level service, for the groups of buildings on both sides of the approximately 6,000-meter-long road axis? Our planning department can calculate the cubic meters of building mass to be heated, including for the main station. You can determine the hot water requirement based on experience.

Here on the model, we can also determine the location of the district heating plant. The prerequisite is a central location for supply area 218

with an industrial rail connection and with the necessary distances and shielding to reduce possible nuisance.
And something essential: the supply system should be installed in the basement of the road structure in accessible ducts so that it can be checked! Now let's take a look at the main road itself: it is about 6,000 meters long, with
of 90 to 120 meters between the buildings, what happens when there is 15 to 20 centimeters of snowfall in one night? I have often experienced this in Munich. Snow removal should only be necessary here in truly extreme cases.
We cannot combat black ice on these roads by spreading sand; that is impossible! The road surface must therefore be above freezing in normal winter conditions so that neither snow can stick nor black ice form. But it must not be a concrete heating system. We have to come up with something else, because all installations must be controllable and easy to maintain.
You now know my ideas and requirements. What applies to the east-west axis also applies to the other urban development
focus areas of the redevelopment in the north and southeast of the city. I am, of course, particularly interested in the economic efficiency of the new facilities. As an engineer, this task must appeal to you, and I am sure you will be able to meet my requirements.
I was not mistaken. Engineer Gerke said:
Your demand for district heating is justified, sensible, and easy to fulfill; we have sufficient experience in this area. But I must point out one thing: the primary problem is the supply of electricity! Due to the redevelopment in general, with the planned mass transit network of underground and suburban railways, and due to the reorganization and development
Due to industrial growth and the expansion of large residential areas, more electrical energy is needed than the city can offer or supply.
In any case, one thing is clear: the city of Munich cannot meet its electricity needs from its existing hydroelectric and steam power plants. The energy demand requires the construction of additional municipal power plants or the purchase of electricity from other sources, which is expensive for the city and therefore for consumers, and ultimately leads to the construction of new plants. power plants or the purchase of electricity from external sources, which is expensive for the city and therefore for consumers, ultimately leading to the construction of new plants. It should be noted that the use of hydropower is essentially exhausted, apart from costly damming. I am disregarding the seasonal dependence of hydropower plants.
Conventional, commonly used steam power plants using the condensation process are not state of the art in this case; they are inefficient in terms of fuel consumption and are therefore not economically viable.
I therefore propose combined heat and power generation. This means that we generate

energy and heat in combined heat and power plants using hard coal. First, electricity is generated in the power stage and then the heat produced is used in the downstream heating stage. This gives us both electrical energy and heat, and we have also planned in an economically sensible way.
Coal is precious—apart from lignite and small amounts of natural gas and oil shale, as well as limited hydropower, we have nothing else in Germany for energy production. The least we can do now is to use our coal to the best of our technical knowledge and economic capabilities. Of course, this requires construction measures, which can be achieved here
in Munich through redevelopment.
Our coal reserves will last for another 500 years, even with rising energy demand. But coal is an important raw material from which our researchers and chemists are constantly conjuring up new products for a self-sufficient economy. It is not for nothing that people talk about coal refinement! I will mention just a few possibilities: coal liquefaction, Buna, fertilizers, tar products, paints, and medicines.
The individual fireplace, "decentralized operation," whether for generating electricity or heat, is, from a technical and economic point of view, the lowest stage of development, the most primitive, but also still the most widespread form today.
"Everyone makes their own little fire," I interjected.
"Yes, that's right! That means countless smoking chimneys in residential buildings and a forest of factory smokestacks. The result is that a haze of smoke and a cloud of soot hang like fog over the conurbations where people live and work in industry.
In most cases, power is generated just as selectively as heat. This makes no economic sense whatsoever when you consider that around 40% of coal, a major source of energy, is used solely for heating and is simply burned!
An example: A major industrial plant in this city, run by rational-minded businesspeople, engineers, and technicians, operates 16 boiler systems on its premises alone! Just think about how much operating personnel is needed for this, then the transport of the energy source, the removal of the slag, and the strain on the railways and roads.
Now imagine that for the heating systems in residential areas! It is obvious that the many individual furnaces cannot be operated as carefully as a central system supervised by experts.
All of this is meaningless compared to the fact that we should be ashamed of wasting coal as a raw material! Returning to the example of this

technically advanced industrial plant: Heat for the various plant sections and buildings is generated in 16 plant-owned combustion plants, and the electrical energy required is drawn from the public power grid!
In the power plants, coal is burned to generate this electricity
and the waste heat produced in the process is destroyed because the conditions for its use are not met. Are we really a highly developed industrial nation? We still have to prove that! But it is not only this realization that is important. The structural conditions must be created!
I will present your demand for heat for the new buildings and my proposal to build combined heat and power plants in an exposé. You can believe me, it will be a sensible and economical solution; I have been dealing with these problems for a long time.
I can tell you in advance that the energy and heat supply provided by the combined heat and power plants I am proposing will be technically the most efficient and that the production costs of the electricity will be significantly lower than in a condensation power plant.
I am familiar with the costs currently incurred by the municipal utilities in their Isartal condensing power plant. They are around 2.7 Reichspfennig per kilowatt hour (RPf/kWh). With a CHP plant of the appropriate size, the costs will be around 1 RPf/kWh, plus the waste heat, which we will use at low cost.
It may sound unlikely to you, but please bear in mind that the
efficiency of a condensation power plant is around 25%, while that of a combined heat and power plant is around 70%!
In a combined heat and power plant, the waste heat generated is used, whereas in a condensation power plant it is destroyed. Large quantities of cooling water are required to destroy the waste heat – an estimated 50 times the amount of steam that is extracted from the Isar river at the Isartal condensation power plant, for example, and then reheated and returned to the river. What a waste of precious energy!
Gerke's explanations came as a surprise to me, but his suggestions and arguments were convincing. I had known Gerke long enough to trust his judgment in the field of thermal engineering. My last doubts disappeared during a discussion of technical and construction issues that arose from my request to lay the "heat transport system" in separate, controllable, and, if possible, accessible channels. In my view, these channels with the main supply lines should be built at the same time as the road structures and the subway system.
In the area with the highest population density, a subway system was to be built later as an addition to the U-Bahn 221

This offered the opportunity to extend the heat supply to these areas and connect this heat consumption cluster to the district heating system.
The result of our discussion was the concept of an inner-city heat network system for Munich, which would supply the redevelopment, conurbation, and industrial areas with heat and hot water from combined heat and power plants. I then commissioned the engineer Gerke to develop this concept.
If we succeed in realizing this project, I told him, the effects on urban development, the economy, and society will be impossible to predict. Energy and heat that are economical, modern, and secure for the future, combined with a significant reduction in the harmful effects of dust, soot, and gases, will also mean with the gift of cleaner air in the urban area, which is in line with the principles for the redesign of this city! The feather belongs on your hat, Gerke!
He dismissed the idea. If we started building combined heat and power plants now, we would be lagging far behind. The Russians had started early; the USSR was the first country to recognize the importance of coupling energy and heat and to draw the necessary conclusions. The first large combined heat and power plant had been built in Leningrad 15 years ago. Now Novikov, from the technical council of the relevant People's Commissariat, was providing information on the current status of this development.
According to him, there are already over 100 combined heat and power plants in the Soviet Union, with more under construction, especially in Moscow. Russia has large reserves of energy sources. Not only coal, but also oil and natural gas are available, and certainly also untapped hydropower.
Until then, I had not been aware that the Russians had been building combined heat and power plants for a long time and were far ahead of us in this field. I was also surprised at how interested Gerke was in energy economics and pleased with his comments, which I considered to be of great importance for the future-oriented urban development that Adolf Hitler was striving for.
At the beginning of 1940, Gerke presented his report. It comprised three volumes, peppered with figures, research results, and economic feasibility calculations, as well as a wealth of graphical representations and diagrams. He said he had concentrated on the most essential aspects.
Volume I contained the actual investigation of the possibilities for heat supply. It concluded that the optimal solution to the task at hand could only be achieved through combined heat and power plants. This was followed by an economic assessment of coal as an energy source, also with regard to the proposed combined heat and power plants. This volume also included

district heating supply for Große Straße and the main railway station.
Volume II was the preparation for a second expansion stage and dealt with the economic efficiency of combined heat and power plants in the range of 400 -
800 Gcal/h output*, tailored to the district heating supply of the existing urban area.
Volume III dealt in detail with the district heating supply for the new "Südstadt" district planned as part of the redevelopment for 100,000 residents. Using these documents, engineer Gerke explained his planned heating supply system for the city of Munich to me. He had calculated a heat requirement of around 1,600 Gcal/h for the building volumes determined for the actual redevelopment. He briefly discussed 'decentralized operation', the conventional method of heat supply for new construction projects, in which
the heat demand is covered by individual central heating systems or collective heating systems located in the individual construction phases or buildings, a solution that I had fundamentally rejected for the redesign.
He then pointed out the superior economic efficiency of 'centralized operation':
"Better utilization of coal and thus higher efficiency;
? Central coal supply and large-scale transport, eliminating the need for fuel storage at individual consumers;
? Immediate processing of residues and fly ash into aerated concrete and slag insulation materials;
? Relief for rail and road transport systems;
? Savings in labor through technical rationalization;
? Emission-free and technically flawless combustion in engineered plants with the result: Air is kept free of soot,
dust, and gases.
Gerke explained that the central heat supply made it possible to connect a power stage upstream of the high-pressure steam generated, thereby additionally generating the required electrical energy in the combined heat and power plant through cogeneration.
The calculations showed that the additional energy requirement for power and lighting for the Reichsbahn and the city would be around 1,200 million kilowatt hours (kWh) per year. Since neither the city nor the Reichsbahn were in a position to expand their hydroelectric power plants economically, combined heat and power plants would be the best solution.
Gerke was able to demonstrate the economic efficiency of the cogeneration plant compared to a condensing power plant with calculations that he made easy to understand with graphical representations. Instead of thousands of individual heating systems and decentralized collective heating systems

Engineer Gerke had proposed three combined heat and power plants. They were centrally located yet shielded in the respective structural focal points of the redevelopment, in the west, north, and east of the city, in direct connection with existing industrial rail facilities. Their assigned supply areas were marked on a city map by circles with a radius of 4 kilometers. Within these areas, it was possible to provide a completely safe and economical heat supply using the technology available at the time.

The circles overlapped in the city center, where the main long-distance pipelines of the three plants were to meet so that power could be exchanged or transferred. (See site plan on page 162).

Gerke proposed variable expansion stages for the combined heat and power plants. The first expansion stage was determined by the calculated construction dimensions of the new design and the possibility of connecting it to the sewer system with the district heating pipes laid therein. For economic reasons, the construction of these accessible sewers was to be carried out together with the construction of the
subway lines and road construction.

Later, with the further expansion of the subway system and the advancement of the underground railway system, it made sense to expand the sewer system for district heating at the same time.
for district heating became possible. These two factors—the connectable building masses and the possibility of connecting them—determined the performance level of the heating plants.

Accordingly, the expansion of these cogeneration plants was to be carried out with standardized and normalized block units of 100 Gcal/h each up to the required final sizes of 600 to 800 Gcal/h.

This meant that not only all the buildings in the redevelopment project could be constructed, but also, after 224

Graphic representation from engineer Gerke's study on Munich's heat supply through combined heat and power plants (1940).
225

gradually, around 75% of existing buildings in the urban area were connected to the inner-city district heating network. Connecting the outlying areas of the city outside the actual supply areas was considered uneconomical. These areas, which were mostly less densely built-up, were to be supplied with heat from the combined heat and power plants at low cost, including via night storage heaters.
Another option for heating buildings in the outskirts of the city was the possible use of heat pumps. This precautionary planning was triggered by engineer Gerke's suggestion to use heat pumps to recover heat from the warm domestic water in the large thermal baths*.
In their first expansion stage, the three combined heat and power plants (CHP) were designed for a total heat output of 1600 Gcal/h and were capable of generating 800 million kWh per year. Gerke estimated the final output to be approximately 2200 Gcal/h. The following was planned
? the West CHP plant with 400 Gcal/h and 200 million kWh/year single-phase alternating current ;
It was to be operated by the Reichsbahn and only release waste heat into the municipal heating network.
? the HKW Nord and Ost, each with 600 Gcal/h and 300 million kWh/year; they were to be operated by the municipal utilities and supply both electricity and heat to the municipal networks.
Gerke said that it would not be possible to do without figures entirely. He had calculated the annual fuel consumption at 750,000 tons of hard coal. The graph showing his calculations revealed that the gross electricity costs in the West CHP plant amounted to 0.925 RPf/kWh. In contrast, according to the Reichsbahn, the costs incurred in its operations at that time to generate the same amount of electricity amounted to 4.1 RPf/kWh!
The situation was similar at the municipal utilities: according to the municipal utilities, the calculated production costs in the combined heat and power plants of 0.8 RPf/kWh were offset by previous costs of 2.7 RPf/kWh.
These comparisons struck me as surprising; they seemed unlikely. But Gerke assured me that everything was correct, saying that he had already pointed out the high efficiency of a cogeneration plant to me last year. Another comparison dealt with the problem of fuel transport:
The Nord cogeneration plant required 260 coal trains with 50 wagons each to transport fuel in one year.
? to achieve the same output with a condensation power plant and a municipal heating plant, 380 coal trains would have been required;
? for a condensation power plant and decentralized district heating systems,

around 500 coal trains and an additional 16,700 road transports of 10 tons each within the city limits, not to mention the additional labor.
Gerke then gave an overview of the supply situation and the importance of coal for the state from an economic and political perspective. He had also prepared extensive material and graphical representations for this.
Next, we discussed the structural measures that had been identified during the preliminary work and that would need to be taken into account in the redesign plans. I asked for a simplified explanation of the heat supply system for the buildings on Große Straße, which could be understood and appreciated even without engineering knowledge.
of the heat supply for the buildings on Große Straße that could be understood and appreciated even without engineering knowledge.
We went to the model of Große Straße. Gerke had had the cubic buildings and facilities of the heating plant scaled down and inserted into the model by my model workshop.
"I'd better explain the basics of heat supply here using the model," Gerke began.
of the heat supply here using the model," Gerke began. First of all, the characteristic feature of a combined heat and power plant is the combined heat and power generation; the power stage for generating
, i.e. electricity, comes before the heating stage. This CHP plant, which is to be operated by the Reichsbahn, has a nominal output of 400 Gcal/h in its first stage of expansion. It generates steam at 125 atmospheres of overpressure (atü) and 500° C.
This steam is first fed into the power stage, where it generates single-phase alternating current for the Reichsbahn's needs via pre- and post-turbines, amounting to approximately 200 million kWh net per year.
Is it really impossible to avoid engineering jargon?
These terms can be taken for granted, said Gerke. I already mentioned the electricity costs: 0.925RPf/kWh compared to 4.1RPf/kWh previously. Now, after giving off some of its energy in the power stage, the steam enters the heating stage, where it is fed into heat exchangers that convert this steam – or, if you prefer, this waste heat – into hot water at 190°C and 12 bar.
This hot water is pumped into the district heating network as transport heat. The main pipes are located in accessible channels, here in the road structure, under the floor of the parking garage. Distribution pipes branch off from these and lead to the individual conversion and transfer stations for heating districts, which include individual buildings such as the main train station, the opera house, or the KdF hotel, as well as blocks of houses.
In these stations, this transport heat is converted into consumption heat, i.e., heating water and hot water. Heat storage tanks to cover peak consumption and hot water storage tanks, from which each district is supplied with hot water at 60°C, are also located here.

The necessary pumps and other technical equipment are also located here.
It should be considered whether the construction of reserve heating plants should also be planned in case the heat supply from the CHP plant fails. I have included this in my plans for the "Südstadt" area. We need to discuss this; at the very least, the structural requirements should be planned.
The "heat transfer water," which has now cooled to around 60 °C, is then pumped back into the CHP plant and reheated in the heat exchangers. Some of the return water is still used, for example in your planned "thermal baths," in outdoor pools, and in your "excavator lakes." This allows people to swim outdoors earlier and for longer. In addition, the planned large greenhouses on the edge of the green zones can be heated with the return water.
I asked in between: Which area and what building volumes will be supplied by this HKW West?
The buildings on both sides of Große Straße, from Stachus to Pasing, the main railway station with all the associated Reichsbahn buildings, the buildings on Königlicher Platz, where the small heating plant currently in operation can be decommissioned, and the exhibition grounds at Theresienwiese, which you want to expand further.
Furthermore, in connection with the HKW Nord, the Technical University,
the university, and all buildings in the area of the subway line to the north. The building volume determined so far in the aforementioned area is in the order of approximately 52 million cubic meters.
And how high is the cost per cubic meter of building volume? Or, more interestingly, how much does heating and hot water cost per year for a 100 square meter apartment?
It's impossible to generalize; the use of buildings
is too varied. Just think of the main station, the opera house, restaurants, shops, offices, or a hotel room. I can tell you the price of 1 Gcal of heat: it costs RM 7.65 from the heating plant, plus the cost of transporting the heat to the consumer, which adds RM 2.85, regardless of whether the consumer is next to the heating plant or 4 kilometers away. I can give you a rough estimate that heating a hotel room in the planned KdF hotel at the main station will cost approximately RM 1.00 per square meter per year.
I will explain my calculations and plans for the southern district with precise figures.
In volume III, Gerke had worked out the heating and hot water supply for the planned Südstadt, in accordance with my request for the creation of spacious, technically well-equipped, and financially

affordable rental apartments. The Südstadt was to be supplied by the HKW Ost.
Gerke described in detail
? the heat transport to the residential district;
? the location and structure of the conversion and reserve heating centers;
? the heat transport within the residential area to the building installations.
He mentioned the costs for heat transport, heat losses in the main and connecting pipes, the operating costs of the individual systems, and the maintenance personnel required. He spoke of installation costs, depreciation, and amortization.
Finally, Gerke presented a diagram showing the heat supply price broken down according to the amount of heat consumed. This supply price fell from RM 10.50/Gcal with increasing heat consumption to RM 8.00/Gcal:
Based on a normal winter and normal heating requirements of the residents, the heating costs for a 100 square meter apartment are between RM 90 and RM 110 per year. Added to this are the costs for hot water. Assuming a requirement of 50 liters per person per day, this results in an annual cost of approximately RM 17.50*.
These figures are the normal supply prices, assuming that the entire district heating system will pay for itself in 12 years.
The distribution of costs for the thermal power industry to supply the Wohnstadt Süd. 229

We must be aware that a district heating system involves higher technical and construction costs than, for example, the city's sewage system. However, this expenditure will still be worthwhile from every point of view!
In addition to the actual plant costs for the combined heat and power plants, the heating stages with their heat exchangers, etc., there are the costs for supply lines, conversion stations, storage tanks, and pumps. Added to this are the heat transport costs, heat losses, electricity costs for the pumps, personnel costs, and everything else.
And another fundamental point: the costs of the energy supplied by the CHP plant consist of the costs of the electricity and heat generated. Those responsible for the restructuring now have the opportunity to strike a reasonable balance between electricity and heat, while also taking social aspects into account in the costs of heating the apartments. For example, the extremely low generation price of electricity could be subject to a surcharge and the price of heat reduced accordingly, either across the board or specifically for socially disadvantaged groups. I have calculated a possible example: The heat required to supply hot water to the southern part of the city generates approximately 450 kWh per capita per year in the combined heat and power plant at a cost price of 0.8 RPf/kWh. Adding a surcharge of 1 RPf/kWh to this low electricity price in favor of hot water consumers would result in a reduction in the price of hot water of RM 4.50 per year. The electricity price would then still be 0.9 RPf/kWh below the current production price*.
At the end of our meeting, Gerke presented me with documents on the development of electricity demand in the city of Munich up to 1950. Based on this demand, he had compiled a graphical representation from the municipal utility records for 1938/39, which showed the utilization of the useful electrical power of the North and East cogeneration plants in 1950.
Taking into account the seasonal output of a cogeneration plant—in summer, significantly less heat is required than in winter, and electricity generation is correspondingly lower—the graph showed that the electricity from the cogeneration plants could be fed into the city grid except during the winter months. It was easy to use the surplus electricity generated in winter in the supraregional power supply, and this could be combined with the low demand for external purchases in summer.
At that point, Gerke had not yet completed his investigation into whether it would be economically viable to install an additional condensation stage at the HKW Nord power plant to cover the external electricity required in summer.

I asked Gerke to have his work reviewed by experts
at technical universities, as I needed to be absolutely certain before giving Adolf Hitler a presentation on our energy and heat supply plans.
After this meeting with Gerke, the decision was made. All urban planning reasons and considerations spoke in favor of the cogeneration plants:
Instead of tens of thousands of fireplaces with their exhaust gases, dust, and soot, "clean heat" would come from three engineer-operated cogeneration plants.
? The extensive road transport of fuel to the individual fireplaces and the removal of slag and ash would no longer be necessary.
? Plants for processing these residues into insulation and building materials were added to the heating plants. In a trial operation, the use of processed residues in the production of insulating concrete slabs was successfully tested. Later, testing of aerated concrete slabs was added.
The combined heat and power plants were able to heat the main roads in snow and icy conditions without any special effort.
All economic considerations were also met. It was the best possible use of coal as a raw material with significant savings in labor, as battalions of heating engineers would otherwise have been required to operate the individual or collective heating systems.
The expert opinions obtained from technical universities were positive and confirmed the calculations made by engineer Gerke.
In late summer 1940, after the resumption of the redesign measures had been ordered, I reported to Adolf Hitler on the planned solution for energy and heat supply through the three heating plants. He was very interested, considered the proposal to be correct, and approved its implementation:
"The energy problem has preoccupied me since the war," he said. "I have discussed it repeatedly with engineers Feder and Keppler. Now, of course, it concerns me particularly, because energy is
not only determines a people's standard of living, it determines their very existence! It is a European problem and can ultimately only be solved within a pan-European framework. Coal is Europe's most important raw material in economic terms; other countries and regions are blessed with oil.
Since we must use coal carefully despite our large reserves, I have ordered the use of water power above all else, as is the case in Norway. I have asked Dr. Todt to seriously investigate the possibility of

using the tides on the Atlantic coast. But the transport of electrical energy has its spatial limitations.

I have now commissioned the engineer Gerke to plan the heating power plants for Munich in cooperation with the "Industrial Planning" department of my office. But it was not only for the large city of Munich that heating and power plants were to be planned. We came to the decision to also design combined heat and power plants for a medium-sized city, Weimar, and a small town, Sonthofen, in connection with the Ordensburg.

Construction of the Nord heating plant in Munich began during the war to supply energy and heat to industries vital to the war effort. But nothing was ever completed. After 1945, our plans were ridiculed by philistines who were stuck in the past.

"That's the idiot who planned a subway for Munich!" That's how a right-wing city director from Munich reviled me after the collapse in front of the Americans, who had sentenced me to "life with hard labor."

He neither knew nor understood the meaning and significance of our plans: the road structures with parking decks; the linking of individual transport with the mass transport systems of the underground and suburban railways and the underground railways, which made sensible, reasonable, and spacious pedestrian zones possible in the city center; the equal treatment of rail and road in the design of the new main station, which enabled the Große Straße to be built as an east-west axis to the motorways; the motorway ring road to relieve traffic in the city area. And what did he know about the meaning and significance of the planned integrated energy and heating system?

By the end of the 20th century, our ideas will have prevailed, too late for some solutions that were still possible at the time. The client, Adolf Hitler, who initiated these urban development plans for Munich, approved our designs in the middle of the war.

Energy and heat? Looking back

Engineer Gerke wrote to me repeatedly in later years. We met from time to time. Neither the era of oil dominance nor the emerging use of nuclear energy could dissuade him from believing that what we had planned back then was right. He often enclosed newspaper clippings with his letters,

whose headlines read like those of the Bild newspaper; they spoke of distressing facts: "Munich's poisonous cloud is surpassed only by Tokyo" "A city is in danger of suffocating" "Carbon monoxide" "Dust is falling on the roofs by the ton" "300 hours less sunshine per year" 232

Dr. Vogel says: 'Life-threatening proportions'." "Scientists sound the alarm: 'Dirty air in big cities.'"
Gerke's conviction: "If the plan had been carried out as you intended, this situation would never have arisen."
No, everything was ruined and wasted, because nothing could be good, nothing we had ever planned could be taken into account! Gerke once wrote to me: "Fundamentally, it can be said that your initiative, which affected us all, meant that plans were already being made for the year 2000.
Looking at what has been done in the post-war period in the field of central heating and electricity supply for Munich, it has to be said that our successors are planning without a plan.
Instead of the three heating plants designed as district heating plants, twelve local heating plants have been built, only some of which are equipped with combined heat and power generation. Apparently, no one even bothered to calculate the economic viability of a combined heat and power plant. The fact is that combined heat and power plants only become profitable at an output of 100 Gcal with the corresponding heat density."
At our meetings in the 1960s, the conversation always turned quickly to the topic of energy and heat supply and heating power plants. Oil from external sources increasingly replaced coal. Hundreds of thousands of individual heating systems based on 01 had been installed, even in densely populated areas, with the associated pollution from road transport, oil tanks, oil burners, boilers, and the environmental impact of uncontrollable emissions of soot, sulfur dioxide, and foul odors, not to mention the potential contamination of groundwater. Oil heating was so convenient!
Gerke, where is this all leading?
First of all, this will only lead to "dying coal," and that is a scandal in itself! Coal, our economic wealth, is being withdrawn from use at a senseless cost of billions in taxpayer money. Further billions will be spent on providing accommodation for the miners who are now unemployed. People are no longer thinking in terms of the economy; they are thinking like stock market speculators who unashamedly gamble with other people's money. This madness is being called 'shrinking coal production', and recently someone actually spoke of 'healthy shrinkage'.
I described to Gerke from my own experience the fate of a coal mine and its miners in the Ruhr region. Owned by a chemical industry giant, this mine was expanded at a cost of millions; new, large coal fields were developed. Production began with output far above average, producing the best anthracite coal, suitable for refining and also used for that purpose.

After a few months, production was halted and the mine was shut down,
? naturally with the appropriate subsidy from the federal government. The chemical company bought its anthracite coal somewhere else, perhaps in America, I don't know. Millions went to waste, the mine flooded, the miners were retrained, because they were no longer needed.
Yes, I know that, said Gerke. The whole thing is madness, haphazard planning, and we are becoming increasingly dependent. One year,
we'll see it happen, then the monetary and political blackmail will be added to the raw material and energy dependence of the overpopulated industrialized state!
Our energy economy is in crisis, and in a few years, this negligently triggered crisis will turn into a catastrophe if the renaissance of coal does not come.
Soon after, Gerke sent me a long letter in which he addressed the energy problem. It was easy to see how much
As a responsible engineer, he felt challenged by the measures taken by those in charge. He wrote:
"Coal production was reduced by 40 million tons with state subsidies. This means a loss of 4 billion tons of German coal.
German coal. Thirty years' worth of annual production is simply being written off, and the coal production of an entire generation is being sacrificed. This
, at around DM 70 per ton, around DM 280 billion is being foregone!
Far more energy has been given up here than all of Europe's natural gas reserves represent. 60,000 miners have been 'transplanted'. At a cost of around DM 3.5 billion, subsidized by the state, these skilled workers have been assigned to other jobs that are in no way comparable to their traditional industry, which has grown over generations.
The 'structural change' is destroying part of the economic cycle that has grown organically over three generations. Between 1957 and 1965, the coal mining industry invested around DM 23 billion.
This investment has been rendered worthless by the closure of the mines and the reduction in coal production from around 125 million tons per year to around 90 million tons, a drop of around 25%. This is a move that cannot be justified in economic terms.
Even today, every ton of usable coal mined represents more than DM 20 in orders for suppliers. The attempt to restructure the
In my opinion, the Ruhr economy is nothing more than a helpless mess.
Hundreds of millions of DM in taxpayer money have been literally thrown out the window. The pitiful results of these actions have been buried under a cloak of silence.
Is coal really dead, or is it no longer as important as FDP economic expert Kienbaum claims? What are other statesmen and energy experts from around the world saying?

President KENNEDY, addressing Congress in February 1961:
"Since the dawn of civilization, the source of wealth and progress for all peoples has largely been found in their natural resources.
Everything, our health as well as our security, our economy as well as our prosperity, depends on how we use these treasures.
If we fail to preserve and develop our natural resources, we will soon reap difficulties and hardship."
President DE GAULLE, May 1966, in Lille:
"There is no doubt that coal will continue to play an important role. The problems of coal mining are natural problems, if only because the capital accumulated here over two centuries must not be lost." Minister of Economic Affairs Maurice KANOVSKI, on June 25, 1963, in Paris:
"Coal is an absolute necessity for us. For social reasons, as well as for reasons of national security and independence, our coal production remains sacrosanct, regardless of the price. France
has always ensured order in its energy market. It is our wish that Europe follow this example."
E. W. PERSHON, Mining Congress, London, July 1965:
"The importance of hard coal lies primarily in the fact that it is indispensable for steel production, that coal and steel are the prerequisites for any further industrial expansion and thus for any further increase in the standard of living, and that they therefore inevitably also mean military and political power."
N. W. MELNIKOV, Soviet Minister of Energy, August 1963 in the magazine Ugur:
"The extraction and refinement of the two energy sources oil and natural gas is being pursued with all available resources in the Soviet Union. But coal will remain the most important of all energy sources, if only because it is an indispensable raw material for steel production."
Gerke then described to me his efforts to make politicians aware of the need for general energy policy considerations and the power of
He drew particular attention to heat coupling in combined heat and power plants and district heating in cities. He then referred to large-scale experiments in the US on coal upgrading and concluded:
"I believe that since oil is being burned senselessly today, coal must be liquefied tomorrow. The overexploitation caused by burning CO2 will accelerate the resurgence of coal and certainly bring about a renaissance of coal, a 'victory' of coal over CO2!"
Years later, during a conversation about nuclear energy, the question arose:
"What now, Gerke? How could we justify the heating plants if they had been built? The 'energy' problem seems to have been solved.
"Exactly! We would need them in connection with the nuclear power plants.

. First of all, if we look back, coal would not have had to fear competition from oil in combined heat and power plants, and the consistent expansion of the combined heat and power system based on hard coal would not have led us into such a precarious situation of dependence as we unfortunately find ourselves in now. This means that we would have been spared the "healthy downsizing" of coal, which cost billions. We could have operated the combined heat and power plants on the basis of hard coal for more than 30 years.

But let's continue: The nuclear power plant generates energy, but also heat, a lot of heat! Where does all this heat go? It is destroyed! With huge amounts of cooling water, which heats up the rivers! A few weeks ago, an article appeared about a planned nuclear power plant on the Isar River, raising alarm about the danger of river contamination from the heat generated by the power plant.

So you mean that the waste heat from nuclear power plants could be fed into the district heating system. How far can this waste heat be transported, given that it is important not to build these power plants too close to population centers?

The use of waste heat for district heating in cities would not be a problem at all if—yes, if!—I take Munich as an example—if the heat supply network were in place as planned at the time!

The heat supply network was the basis and prerequisite for the combined heat and power plants, triggered by your demand for district heating and 'flowing heat' for the urban organism. The waste heat from the nuclear power plant can be incorporated into the heating network without technical difficulties if a heat storage system is connected between the power plant and the district heating network. This would allow most of the waste heat from the nuclear power plant to be used to supply heat to large cities.

But I repeat, the prerequisite is that a district heating system with connections to consumers in densely populated urban areas.

With the billions that have been senselessly wasted on closing down coal mines and dealing with the consequences, this heat distribution network in cities should have been financed! It would have been no greater feat than building the railways in the 19th century or the sewer system in cities. But whatever they finally decide to do, it's all too late!

I would be interested to know how the situation with the combined heat and power plants in Russia has developed. I remember you telling me in 1940 that they were the most advanced in this field.

? It has developed on a huge scale! I will send you some figures showing the development. You will be amazed!

Soon after, Gerke wrote to me:

"The Soviet Union is the most exemplary country in the world in the field of combined heat and power. By 1962 alone, heating plants with a total output of approx. 22,000 MW had been built. Their heat output in 1962 was around 340 x 103 Tcal, which, to give you a comparison with our Munich plans, is 340,000,000 Gcal! The electricity yield in counterpressure was around 110 million kWh. And that is about 30% of Russia's annual production in 1962.
Our three combined heat and power plants in Munich would have had a capacity of 1,600 Gcal and around 800 million kWh in their first expansion stage.
In 1965, 80% of Moscow was heated by district heating. Since then, development has continued, despite the nuclear power plants! In 1969, 689 billion kWh were generated in the Soviet Union, 40% of which, or around 275 billion kWh, was produced in combined heat and power plants.
And here? In 1969, electricity generation was around 220 billion kWh, of which a mere 1% came from combined heat and power plants! If we apply the savings achieved by the Russians to our circumstances, this amounts to around DM 75 million for this one year. You can see that the counterpressure process, as combined heat and power is also known, financed its own progressive expansion when applied on a large scale.
Gerke then turned his attention once again to nuclear power plants, especially the heat they generate and how it is destroyed, because there was no question of using it.
It was impossible to talk about this, as the prerequisite—consumers connected to a heat distribution network—was missing. And, as with the 01, we were dependent on foreign countries for the fuel for nuclear power plants and exposed to the risk of monetary and, above all, political blackmail. He went on to write:
"Let us briefly consider the situation with nuclear energy. It is certain that we will not be able to do without nuclear energy in the future. Uranium consists of two isotopes. The fissile isotope accounts for 0.790%, while the non-fissile isotope accounts for 99.3%. As long as we are technically unable to access this 99.3% of uranium energy, it is clear that the known uranium reserves in the world will only allow for the release of energy
equivalent to about 25 years of global coal production.
The fast breeder reactor, on which we are working feverishly, which is supposed to enrich its own fuel and release about 30% of uranium energy, will not become a reality before 1980 and will then only bring limited relief to the tense energy situation. The fact is that, based on new research findings, the US has decided to put the development of the fast breeder reactor on hold and has now switched to series production of the boiling water reactor.
Of the approximately 4,000 billion kWh of electricity generated worldwide in 1970, nuclear energy accounted for approximately 40 billion kWh gross, approximately 35 billion kWh net, which

is less than 1% of global electricity generation. No expert expects nuclear energy to contribute more than 3% of global energy consumption between 1975 and 1980. Basically, it should be noted that there is no real coal crisis, but rather a crisis of confidence and reason. The closure of coal mines, this so-called "healthy downsizing of coal," can only be described—to put it mildly—as a mistake on the part of Bonn's ministers of economic affairs of all stripes, which has already cost us dearly and will cost us even more!

It must give us pause for thought when the Minister President of North Rhine-Westphalia, the state with the richest coal deposits in Europe, promises the Poles financial aid for the further expansion of their coal production during a visit to Poland (1972) so that this country will be in a position to supply us with coal-fired electricity."

During our next conversation, the opportunity arose to ask: Gerke, didn't you try to bring the idea of combined heat and power plants and the effective, proven plans from 1939/40 to the attention of those responsible and powerful today? Surely these ideas and plans must have met with understanding, found their way into urban planning concepts, triggered economic considerations, ? 'Energy and heat' are, after all, concerns of our time, of our century!

Of course I did! Whenever an opportunity arose, in the form of exposés, presentations with all the figures and economic calculations, in letters to political parties and their leaders, to members of parliament, at "audiences" that were granted to me.

So what?

"Highly interesting!" "It's something to think about!" "I have two file folders full of correspondence. 'We acknowledge receipt of your interesting documents,' and so on. That's all there is to it, because nothing, absolutely nothing, has happened!

In his next letter to me, Gerke once again addressed the issues raised, as was his wont, and supplemented them with documentation. He wrote:

"At the beginning of the mine closures in early 1966, I contacted Mr. Mende and his personal advisor, Mr. Brodesser, among others, and presented them with proposals to support coal production, including a plan with technical details and financing proposals that had already been developed based on practical experience. The discussion was promising, but nothing happened!

Out of concern for coal production, I then wrote to Dr. F. J. Strauß on August 24, 1966, asking him to take action

and put a stop to the senseless destruction of national wealth. I am enclosing a copy of the letter, which will be of interest to you because I also mention our plans for Munich at that time. Dr. Strauß assigned the matter to his personal advisor, Mr. Hepp, for further processing. In honor of Mr. Hepp, with whom I discussed the problem on many occasions and who unfortunately passed away far too early, it must be said that he recognized the problem and took it seriously.

In collaboration with my son Hermann, who has been working as an energy expert in the USA for more than 15 years and is in constant contact with George Fumich Jr., Director of the Office of Coal Research Department, I conducted a preliminary study in 1968 on the possibility of coal
refining based on the American Cresap pilot plant, including its economic viability. This was a process for producing hydrogenated gasoline according to the latest findings of research conducted by the Americans. The preliminary investigation showed the same results as those presented by Dr. Herbert Barking from the board of the Walsum mining company in his investigation a year later in 1969. "Very interesting," was the verdict.

In the meantime, what came to be known as the "oil crisis" hit. Even those responsible in Bonn were shaken awake and began to address the energy problem. Planned mine closures were halted and proposals on energy were made everywhere. Chief engineer Gerke wrote to me:

"Dr. Klaus Hannes has now published a realistic model for district heating for the entire Ruhr area. It shows a similar scale—around 2,000 Gcal—and concludes with a similar level of economic efficiency to our Munich project, which will ultimately have a capacity of 2,400 Gcal.

And Research Minister Matthöfer is trying his hand at a district heating network, a heating system for the Federal Republic of Germany from Flensburg to Freiburg, with investment costs of around DM 200 billion, in order to save around 80 million tons of coal units by the year 2000, ? And he should have known in advance that such a project would never be feasible for financial and economic reasons! Financially, because the capital cannot be raised; economically, because the necessary amounts of energy cannot be transported with low-voltage energy.

80 million tons of coal units are around 56 million tons of 01, and that is about 40% of our current 01 imports, around 12 billion DM in foreign exchange.

The most essential requirement, namely securing 50% of our energy consumption from coal, which is available in our own country for 500-700 years, is largely being ignored. The fact that even in 1975, four coal mines

with an annual capacity of 4 million tons of hard coal will be closed down speaks volumes!
People still say that coal from abroad is cheaper than coal mined here! Has this calculation been done correctly? The costs have long since ceased to be viewed from an economic perspective, otherwise this senseless 'healthy downsizing of coal' would not have happened, resulting in billions in losses to national wealth, monetary blackmail, and political dependence. People used to talk about the "Polish economy"!
We still lack heating centers in urban areas, consumption centers that can take district heating, as we planned for Munich 35 years ago. Will these heating centers ever become a reality? Impossible projects are being pursued to accommodate the ever-increasing amounts of waste heat, even going so far as to "utilize waste heat from nuclear power plants to heat carp ponds with federal subsidies." We are looking with eager hope to the possible supply of gas from the North Sea, without having any rights to a supply, and if this becomes possible, it is already clear today that the cost per ton
01 to the German coast will be at least DM 400, which means that 01 will be significantly more expensive than coal for consumers.
The program must be:
Research and development
in the field of coal mining must be undertaken with the highest priority, regardless of cost!
Coal refinement
Creation of high-voltage energy that can be transported economically over long distances!
Underground gasification, coal gas without mining
is to be classified as a matter of the utmost urgency. This measure is not utopian, as existing research and development examples show. With our technical prerequisites, I believe that
achieve a breakthrough in these areas. The success that would result for our economy justifies any capital investment. Whether our hopes in this direction will be fulfilled is more than doubtful.
Let me conclude by returning to our plans in Munich at that time. You informed me that an expert had said that "the economic solution of combined heat and power could only be introduced through government measures."
All I can say to that is: Of course, how else? That was possible at the time.
can only be introduced through 'government measures', and even today, it can only be introduced through 'government measures'! And what has happened in the meantime? Have our leaders in government and industry who are responsible for the energy sector drawn the necessary conclusions?

With the planned construction of combined heat and power plants based on coal and the associated creation of district heating networks in urban and regional agglomerations, we could have achieved a significant degree of security in our energy and heat supply that would not have made us so dependent on other countries.
We would then have been in a position to approach the technical problem of nuclear energy calmly, and we would have had a district heating network available into which the waste heat from nuclear power plants could be fed in an economically sensible way.
It would then also not be necessary, faced with the threat of an energy shortage, to rush into planning and building large numbers of nuclear power plants, whose technical and, above all, environmental problems are increasingly causing concern among the population.
Nothing has happened! All that has been put forward are words,
? the actions are still waiting to be
taken!" Gerke recently wrote to me
again:
Meanwhile, Research Minister Matthöfer has abandoned his utopian idea of a heating system stretching from Flensburg to Freiburg. He is now aiming to cover around 30% of heating requirements with district heating systems by 1990. This would save around 15-20 million coal units of heating oil per year. Investments of DM 20-30 billion would be necessary for this program, but in view of
rising oil prices.
And now, the latest word from expert sources in the Ruhr region is that nuclear energy is no cheaper than coal, and it is expected that coal will one day be cheaper than nuclear energy as an energy source. When considering prices, the costs of reprocessing and disposal have not been taken into account for nuclear energy!
But enough is enough! One could get endlessly worked up about the problem of energy and heat and the wasted opportunities."
Adolf Hitler on urban organization and redesign
I grew up in one of Germany's oldest cultural landscapes, on the Danube, between the Alpine foothills and the Mühlviertel region. Surrounded by square farmsteads and the refined buildings of the monasteries and abbeys of St. Florian, Melk, and Göttweig. That is why I have been interested in architecture since my youth, and my hometown of Linz with its buildings contributed to this.
At an impressionable age, I came to Vienna and saw the impressive buildings of this city with open eyes. Slowly, 241

the urban context. I recognized the city's form from its Roman foundation, its further development in the Middle Ages, its unity centered on St. Stephen's Cathedral, and its surrounding walls and ramparts. The glacis and old bastions form the "Ring," the most beautiful street ever built on old fortifications, with buildings that are eclectic in style but designed by idiosyncratic, talented architects
and therefore did not fall into imitation.
In the century before, after the Turkish Wars, the city nobility had summer residences built. These spacious buildings with parks, gardens, fountains, and sculptures were more in keeping with their self-image than the city palaces.
palaces. This is how Prince Eugene's Belvedere complex, the Schwarzenberg summer palace, and the imperial Schönbrunn Palace came into being. What magnificent achievements by the architects Fischer von Erlach, Lukas von Hildebrandt, and Jakob Prandtauer!
You can understand how much these creations impressed me! But also the buildings on the Ring, especially those by the architects Semper, Hansen, Schmidt, Hasenauer, van der Nüll, and Siccardsburg, right up to the buildings of the sober but skillful objectivity of Adolf Loos.
The Vienna Ring Road was at the beginning of my interest in urban planning, and Vienna's libraries offered me a wealth of material: on the plans of the urban planner Camill Sitte, on the redesign of Paris under Prefect Haussmann, on the shaping of Rome through the centuries, and, of course, on the urban planning and buildings of Munich under Crown Prince and later King Ludwig I.
Once I knew Vienna, my destination was Munich, certainly not only to see the streets, squares, and buildings that Ludwig I had commissioned, which led out of the confines of the old city center into new spatial dimensions. Ludwig I broke through the city walls, ramparts, moats, and glacis to open the city to the outside world, and with his buildings he established Munich as a city of the arts, building on an already rich foundation. He was well aware of this; how else can we explain his statement in 1810: "I want to make Munich a city that will bring such honor to Germany that no one will know Germany unless they have seen Munich!"
But now, a hundred years later, it is up to us to take up the work of this brilliant hothead, for once again it is necessary to open the city to the outside world! But we do not have to break through walls and ramparts to gain open space; now it is a matter of overcoming the chaotic disorder that has encircled the city like a constricting, suffocating ring.
These are the negative manifestations of the rapid industrial development of the 19th century. There was a lack of forward-looking planning, and the city's organization proliferated in line with population pressure and the new workplaces. The more the workplaces of trade, industry, and

Supply facilities and the residential buildings they required took up space without any sense of form, making the situation even more confusing and the picture even uglier, a reflection of the social fragmentation and decay of the urban community. The authorities responsible for urban development, planning, and design could only come up with partial solutions that ended in monotony. They exhausted themselves with petty building regulations and safety provisions, which were, of course, necessary. The city's appearance fell into disrepair, and everything was left to chance.

Adolf Hitler pointed to the Munich city map in the south: "I'll take a section from this urban sprawl. This is where a hospital will be built... here the children's clinic, the women's clinic... next to it a cemetery... a brewery... then, over there, the slaughterhouse... freight yards... a wholesale market... factories... schools... churches... apartment blocks with narrow backyards... Small businesses? Dreary pubs on the corners. Everything jumbled together! Because the streets here run this way, there are a few triangles and wedges that cannot be built on. A green border will be planted there to give the impression of nature. That will only make the whole thing even more desolate. Here and there are some good individual buildings, looking lost in the chaos.

. It's no better here, he said, pointing to the southwest, the "broken glass neighborhood." quarter. Then he pointed to the Munich street to the north: Or here, ? that's the typical demoralization of Ludwig I's urban planning concept.

Adolf Hitler repeatedly cited this Bavarian king. He wanted a film made about him and his time in order, as he said, to honor this king beyond Bavaria.

Here, Ludwig I and his architects created a spacious square, arcades, and the gate to the court garden, the residence, the Feldherrnhalle, the Theatinerkirche, and Odeonsplatz, which is now the heart of Munich. From here, he extended Ludwigstraße to the north. This was a real urban planning solution. Then comes Leopoldstraße, which is still tolerable. But now the street begins to deteriorate. Look at this aimlessness! Instead of planning the street to be spacious and wide! Haussmann had already shown in Paris what was necessary, how to open up the street spaces of a city to the outside world!

Incidentally, Ludwig I must have had his reasons for placing his streets, squares, and buildings under the jurisdiction of the state, the ministry, and not entrusting them to the city of Munich. We too will have to secure ourselves; for the time being, at any rate, you have full authority to implement and secure the urban "land consolidation."

Giesler, it will not be easy to carry out this plan for the redesign of Munich! It will require all your strength and energy.

But behind you stands a builder who combines authority with iron will. I have both, and at the same time a clear idea of what is necessary here. Perhaps we must limit ourselves to what is necessary. The first task is to organize the rail and road transport structures and build the Große Straße.
Adolf Hitler interrupted his remarks; he had noticed a gesture I had made and interpreted it as follows: Giesler, I know that in an urban organism, everything is interconnected...
We are tackling traffic problems, and this will inevitably trigger industrial relocation. This requires carefully considered industrial planning that will also be valid for the future. New residential areas are a further consequence, which must be in reasonable relation to the workplaces and means of transport. Added to this is the housing requirement for the party offices that are being relocated to Munich. And do not underestimate
the appeal that will be generated by the redevelopment of Munich.
This must not lead to urban sprawl in the outskirts. Green spaces must be taken into account, as must the roads leading into and out of the city. One thing depends on another, so make sure that everything fits in with the best interests of the city and the community.
We are aware of this, and with an eye to future developments, we are obliged to solve the traffic problems, otherwise the situation will be catastrophic in a few decades, and not only here in Munich! For
Assign your most flexible and tenacious employees to industrial planning, residential areas, and green spaces. It will not be easy for any of you, but what spurs us on is the will to achieve something extraordinary.
Industrial planning as part of the redesign
Industrial planning for Munich encompassed the most comprehensive urban planning of workplaces possible, i.e., industrial, commercial, and craft businesses and public utilities.
In accordance with Adolf Hitler's instructions, the Industrial Planning Department was formed. I entrusted my colleagues, building assessor Dipl.-Ing. Zeibig, government architect Dipl.-Ing. Wölfel, and Dipl.-Ing. Geisel, with the implementation of this important restructuring plan. They were in line with Adolf Hitler's ideas: not only were they flexible, tenacious, and tireless, they were also excellent architects and more than a match for the entrepreneurs and their lawyers in negotiations. I could not have made a better choice*.
The reorganization of the railway facilities in the Munich area also required

reorganization of industrial facilities, because some of the large breweries, freight forwarders, building material warehouses, and other companies located in the west and south of the city lost their rail connections. This prompted the Industrial Planning Department to systematically contact the affected companies in hundreds of meetings. The first task was to determine the new location and space requirements for these companies after the clearance dates had been set.
The requirements of these companies were reviewed with regard to the necessary rail and road connections, the location and soil conditions of the new sites, the energy and water requirements, the relationship between the companies, and the orientation of their employees toward residential areas.
At the same time, all factors that could have a negative impact on the city, such as air pollution, noise, and odor, were also recorded. This resulted in the classification and categorization of the sites and the designation of new locations in the city's economic plan. The city planning office's existing documents were inadequate and had been superseded by general and social objectives, space requirements had increased, and the city area had expanded considerably. Industrial planning was therefore forced to draw up a new economic plan.
The powers of the "General Building Council" made it possible to carry out this task. At the same time, the new economic plan and the regulations it laid down were intended to promote understanding that this was by no means just a matter of prestigious streets and a new main railway station,
state and party buildings, but that the redesign was also seen as a way of placing industrial areas and workplaces in a reasonable relationship to the urban organism. The goal was a humane environment for the urban community.
In its now outdated economic plan, the Munich City Planning Office had earmarked industrial expansion areas in the north of the city. The climatic, pedological, and railway engineering conditions were favorable for this. However, these areas in the north proved to be completely inadequate and, in some cases, unsuitable for the relocation of a large part of Munich's industry, which had become necessary as a result of redevelopment measures. Added to this was the immense expansion of existing specialised businesses as a result of the Four-Year Plan, rearmament and increased traffic, as well as the influx or establishment of modern technology companies.
The areas in the north were also inadequate because
most of Munich's new military installations had been built, which required additional space. The requirement for a safety distance of 500 meters from military objects had been waived by the highest authorities for Munich

, otherwise no space at all would have been available for industrial development.
Another limitation was the high groundwater level in the north of Munich. On impermeable bedrock, a strong groundwater stream flows northward from the mountains under the city, covered by a permeable layer of gravel and debris. This debris layer is up to 80 meters thick in the southern and southeastern parts of the city and often decreases to one meter in the north. The catastrophic groundwater, which occurs in periods of about 50 years, flooded parts of the planned industrial areas in the north in 1940.
For businesses requiring deep foundations, especially breweries with their extensive storage cellars, the north was therefore out of the question. In the search for new industrial sites, the prevailing wind directions from the west and southwest had to be taken into account and, above all, existing and future residential areas had to be spared. It was also important not only to preserve the green spaces in the south of the city, but also to integrate them into the urban space in order to ensure that fresh air could flow through and ventilate the city.
The mistakes of the past – such as the industrial development of the Sendlinger Oberfeld in the 1990s – were to be corrected as far as possible and not repeated. The view of the mountain range was not to be impaired by smoking chimneys and industrial complexes. More important, however, was the zoning of all buildings to the south in order to supplement the Isar valley air flow over a wide area and prevent the inflow of fresh air into the urban space from being impeded by high-rise buildings, which cause air turbulence.
In the search for new locations for production and workplaces, a distinction was made between areas with and without rail connections, according to size, according to industrial, commercial, or craft operations, and according to the nuisance caused by the operation to the surrounding area; we then classified operations as disruptive, slightly disruptive, and non-disruptive.
The selection of areas with rail connections was mainly limited to the immediate vicinity of the "Güterring" planned around Munich and largely completed.
"Güterring" planned for Munich and largely completed. This Güterring branched off from the Lindau railway line at Eichenau and headed north to join the Mühldorf line at Feldkirchen. Later, the Güterring was also to be extended to the Rosenheim line. However, along this approximately 30-kilometer-long track system, only relatively short sections were considered for industrial connections, which, for operational reasons, could not be developed from the open track but only from the freight facilities of the stations. This was usually only possible on one side of the line, where the industrial connection areas also had to be located. This was because

Due to the high groundwater level in the northern freight ring, underpasses were not possible, and overpasses with tracks would have resulted in impractical, technically and structurally undesirable structures. The Reichsbahn's demand for completely rail-free road crossings, even within industrial areas, for level crossings and connections, and for the connecting tracks to have a curve radius of no less than 180 meters was understandable. However, there were also technical restrictions on planning due to differences in elevation, which made it impossible not only for individual companies to develop their sites under otherwise favorable conditions, but also for entire industrial areas to be used. And this "impossible" came quickly and often from the Reichsbahn's new construction department, but was then sometimes withdrawn on the basis of powers of attorney, reasonable arguments, and thorough investigation.
The freight ring stretching far around Munich with its 5-kilometer-long marshalling yard and the stations of Allach, Feldmoching, Milbertshofen-Freimann, Unterföhring, and Feldkirchen connected to it drew the industrial areas far away from the previous urban area. The companies naturally protested vehemently, as for many of them this meant a significant increase in inner-city transport costs and longer commutes for their employees.
At the same time, this put them at a disadvantage compared to competitors who were able to remain in their previous locations close to the city. This was less noticeable during the economic boom years,
, but it had an impact on the shortage of labor, who naturally preferred jobs in locations close to residential areas.
The selection of industrial and work areas was therefore made in close consultation and coordination with the Housing Department, which was also restricted in its choice of new residential areas and had to take all relevant factors into account. Due to the climatic conditions, the landscape, and the transport links to the city center, the selection of suitable residential areas tended towards the east, southeast, and especially the south. This was not easy to reconcile with the components of work, living, and leisure.
, transportation, and leisure time. The traditional mixing of work and residential areas had to be avoided, but long commutes to and from work were also undesirable, even if these distances were shortened by planning and reorganizing all modes of transportation, including rail and road, as well as new subway and rapid transit connections.
After careful consideration, plans were made for an industrial area measuring approximately 1 x 3 kilometers, called "Ostsüdost," which was to be located northeast of Perlach. The idea was to attract "environmentally friendly" businesses that didn't cause any problems with odors, chemical emissions, or noise.

. Large breweries such as Pschorr, Hacker, Augustiner, Löwen, and Spaten were planned for this location. They had high demands on the site, which were justified: they needed deep, multi-story storage cellars in particularly suitable soil and their own wells for extracting large quantities of suitable water. Geological surveys had been carried out for this purpose.
Replacement space was also provided here for the lost operating areas and storage space at Ostbahnhof. This area was connected to the track network from the Ost freight and storage yard with two dedicated shunting groups and a local freight yard for general cargo transport
for commercial enterprises without their own rail connections planned for the southern edge of the area.
In terms of residential living, this industrial and commercial area was conveniently located. It was about two kilometers away from the generously planned and modern residential town along the Zubringer road to the highway to Salzburg. In addition, Perlach and Trudering—
independent satellite towns – were suitable as nearby residential areas. The underground and suburban railways, as well as the connecting tram, also planned as an underground tram, offered quick connections to the city center.
The designation of these industrial areas, which were huge by the standards of the time, meant a painful loss for the Perlacher farmers. Most of the land was inherited farmland with mainly mediocre soil quality. Here, as in other parts of the city and in almost all urban expansion projects, the provision of the necessary large areas of land could
unfortunately only at the expense of agriculture, which had already made great sacrifices in previous years due to the construction of airports, new military installations, and the highway. This highlighted the general difficulties facing Germany: feeding an ever-growing urban population from ever-shrinking agricultural land, caused by
Self-sufficiency.
Among other things, attempts were made to ensure at least the vegetable supply for the growing city by intensifying farming, including horticulture, in a planned green belt between the southeastern part of the city and the industrial area in the Moosach, Feldmoching, and Ramersdorf-Perlach districts. This was to be achieved by creating large greenhouse facilities that could be operated using the waste heat from the planned district heating system. The farmers most affected were to be compensated with land either in Upper Bavaria or west of Munich and in the Dachauer Moos, with the support of the state farmers' association and the state planning authority. This area consisted of marshy, low-quality pasture land that could be converted into high-quality horticultural land. To a large extent, even at the expense of long distances,

the interests of agriculture near Munich were largely taken into account by planning industrial satellite towns near Puchheim-Eichenau and Feldkirchen-Lohhof-Unterschleißheim. The plan was to locate businesses with large land requirements, few employees, and insignificant buildings here, especially large construction companies that had construction sites throughout Germany and were not interested in small, inner-city construction projects. They were able to store their materials and equipment here. Modern building material production companies such as ready-mixed concrete plants and special factories for aerated concrete were also able to locate their sites close to the necessary raw materials.
The clear separation and demarcation into independent industrial areas and agricultural and horticultural communities would have prevented the unpleasant sprawl of the city along its arterial roads.
The entire south and southwest of Munich was to remain free of industrial areas, even though there were opportunities for rail connections here. The industrial plants and storage areas that were nevertheless built here were due to the war, and even the powers of the General Building Council were unable to prevent this approach, which was limited to the duration of the war. In this context, another mistake should be mentioned: the approach taken by the "Central Planning Office" under Speer regarding the Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Werke in Ottobrunn. Originally intended as a research institute and by us as such in
Included in the planning of the southeastern part of the city, a large company important to the war effort was established here. A separate railway siding had to be laid from Unterbiberg station, which took up and sealed off valuable recreational areas close to the city. There was a danger of further industrial development in the wrong place, as industrial development had previously sprung up in a similar way along the main line of the Isarwerke on the Sendlinger Oberfeld.
In other places, too, war-related but urbanistically misguided expansions of industrial areas took place. In the north of the city, for example, the Bavarian Motor Works (BMW) expanded into the Allacher Forest with its huge "R-Werk" factory, developing new jet engines for fighter planes. All this led to bitter battles that were taken all the way to headquarters. The war had priority, and the promise of increased powers referred to peace after a war that had been won.
We worked to an extent that was hardly known to achieve this future peace. A total of approximately 2,000 hectares of industrial land was designated for the future development of the city of Munich. The immediate requirement was 800 to 1,000 hectares. The total number of businesses registered was 650, of which 510 reported a need for business premises. Due to the

Reorganization measures by the Reichsbahn affected 210 businesses, while other urban development measures affected around 100 more. Thirty businesses were relocated to Munich. A rail connection was absolutely necessary for 215 businesses; this could be guaranteed, and at the same time the current and future space requirements of the individual businesses were taken into account. Eighty-five businesses that wanted a rail connection were mostly able to get what they wanted. For many companies, the location was more important than a rail connection. More than 50% of the companies surveyed were accommodated on sites without a rail connection.
. The selection of these areas was less restricted and also closer to the city, but this required even more careful consideration in cases where the areas were located near existing or future residential areas. These areas were successfully consolidated into "industrial parks," thus avoiding fragmentation that could have resulted from precedent-setting individual decisions.
The commercial areas were intended for small and medium-sized businesses with a small workforce and on smaller plots, often in a designed context with residential areas. Some of the production facilities were multi-story buildings for precision engineering, electrical engineering, and pharmaceutical companies, leather goods and textile manufacturers, printing companies, and publishing houses. Separate small storage areas had to be provided for construction companies, car repair shops, and gas stations to serve the surrounding residential areas.
After all investigations, it became apparent that, despite the significant machine, engine, and vehicle manufacturing industries, the majority of the newly established companies were in the precision engineering, apparatus engineering, construction and ancillary construction industries, breweries, and warehousing, i.e., non-disruptive industries. The approximately 2,000 hectares of industrial land identified in the economic plan contained considerable reserves, even for future developments, and yet the character and atmosphere of Munich would not have been altered, and Munich would not have become an industrial city.
Special attention had to be paid to car repair shops, which had often developed from former blacksmiths' or locksmiths' workshops and, in most cases, offered an unpleasant sight due to insufficient space for parking and storage, not to mention noise and exhaust fumes.
, not to mention the noise and exhaust fumes. The onset of motorization, also in anticipation of the Volkswagen, made it necessary to set up modern, large-scale businesses for repairs and car maintenance. The factories set about building their own or contracted businesses with spare parts warehouses, showrooms, and large gas stations. It was also important to prevent intrusive, garish advertising and colorful displays.

The ever-increasing volume of truck traffic brought with it a new challenge which posed a number of difficult problems for urban planning in general and for roads in particular. Adolf Hitler intervened here: we had to think and act in terms of the national economy, he said, and trucks should primarily serve as collectors and distributors for the possible transport of goods and mass transport by rail,
They should complement rail transport, but not at the expense of it. Nevertheless, "car parks" were built for Munich. These were large parking lots with warehouses, repair and refueling facilities, restaurants, and overnight accommodations. In line with the already developed highways in Stuttgart, Nuremberg, and Salzburg, three of these car parks were planned. Industrial planning was not one-sided; it was a matter of course that it worked in close cooperation with the transport planning department (rail and road) and the housing construction department. Cooperation with the planning of green spaces, protection zones, and permanent allotments was as close as it needed to be. Together with recreational green spaces, sports fields, and playgrounds, they formed a protective barrier between the residential areas and the city center. In the past, city planners, architects, and housing associations had paid little attention to a profession that would continue to be important in Munich in the future, as it had been for centuries: skilled tradesmen. Bakers, butchers, sausage makers, electricians, plumbers, and similar trades and craftsmen were also taken into account in modern apartment blocks, provided they ran shops.

However, this was mostly left to chance or individual initiative.

The planning under Zeibig, Wölfel, and Geisel was more prudent; they intervened in good time in the generously planned Southeast City with well-considered facilities, for which the term "craftsmen's courtyards" was coined.

In keeping with old traditions, the craftsmen's courtyard was intended to house workshops workshops, exhibition and sales rooms, warehouses, offices, and the apartments of the master craftsmen, their apprentices, and the single and married journeymen with their families. Depending on the type of craft, its importance, and the size of the residential area to be served, a wide variety of designs emerged. Basically, these were complexes with an enclosed courtyard, similar to the square farms of the Eastern Marches, transferred to the urban environment of the city community. Often they formed rows of courtyards.

In addition to the craftsmen already mentioned, locksmiths, artistic blacksmiths, belt makers, painters, upholsterers, small carpenters and cabinetmakers, stove fitters, chimney sweeps, bricklayers, and carpenters (Scharwerker) were also considered, as were stonemasons near the cemetery. as well as shops and businesses, laundries and ironing establishments, small dry cleaners and dyers, and printing shops. The road maintenance depot with its vehicles was also to be located here.

There were over 65 such craftsmen's yards scattered throughout the city. They had a local structure and were designed to fit in with their surroundings. An ideal plan was drawn up for the new residential areas in the south-east of the city. The craftsmen's yards were located here on two floors in front of the rows of houses, with shielding green strips and a row of shops, which were adjoined by workshops and workyards. The apartments were located on the upper floor, away from the main road traffic. This was mirrored on the other side along the wide access roads to the highway. Thus, the craftsmen's courtyards not only served their actual purpose
purpose, but also acted as a protective barrier against traffic noise for all the residential buildings behind them.
For implementation, uniform institutions such as housing associations, the Reich Guild Association, the Chamber of Crafts, and the German Labor Front were considered, but also individual initiative. Since this task went beyond the actual scope of industrial planning, the city planning office was called in. A department set up specifically for this purpose was to take on this task in close cooperation with the Chief Building Officer.
The economic plan within the framework of the general development plan for the redevelopment was drawn up at the end of 1942. It was submitted to Adolf Hitler, discussed in detail, and approved.
In addition to this spatial planning, development plans for the designated sub-areas were also drawn up at the same time. Most of these were already available when the so-called "Göring Decree" of April 13, 1942, prohibited further company planning. This also meant that the necessary approval procedures for the development plans had to be suspended. It is hardly possible to explain these multifaceted plans without visual aids, so only a few common features will be mentioned here. The framework of the industrial development plans was formed by connections to the main road network via sufficiently wide, rail-free access roads. Underpasses and overpasses with their ramps had to
be kept to a minimum, and no exits were allowed in their vicinity. Repeated ups and downs of a continuous road were undesirable. Dead-end streets – which would have resulted from a finger-like interlocking of residential streets and main tracks – were not to become the norm, as traffic between the companies had to be taken into account. Where dead-end streets were unobjectionably, their ends had to be provided with sufficient turning areas and a connecting route had to be maintained at least by footpaths and cycle paths, which, however, also had to be free of level crossings.
The main tracks usually had to be at ground level so that the roads

had to be sunk or filled in by about 6 meters at necessary crossings. On electrified lines, 7 meters were required. Without taking into account the roundings, this resulted in ramp lengths of 200 to 233 meters with an acceptable gradient of 3%. If the groundwater level allowed for an underpass, the supply lines, especially the sewer, would certainly have ended up in the groundwater. This was undesirable and had to be countered by technically difficult and costly measures.

Elevated overpasses were both costly and unsatisfactory in terms of design, as the track bed was mostly single-track. Cutting the tracks into the terrain and lowering the track bed was only possible where the companies wanted basement connections for operational reasons. The Reichsbahn categorically rejected any ups and downs with their main track. As a result of their demand for a minimum curve radius of 180 meters and their refusal to use the connecting companies' turntables or transfer tables with their locomotives, only longitudinal connecting tracks parallel to the main track were considered, along which the warehouses and unloading facilities had to be built.

In order to avoid costly crossing structures, the roads also ran parallel to the main track. Cross-connecting roads were necessary in the larger industrial areas such as "Südost" or Feldkirchen, primarily for traffic between companies, but had to be kept to a minimum for financial and planning reasons. The ramp lengths mentioned above required equally long plots of land with no exit on either side of the main track.

This meant, for example, that the popular 1-hectare site could only accommodate a maximum of 50 meters of connecting track. With the normal switch development of 35 meters—partly on railway land, partly on company land—this meant that only three standard wagons could be delivered. However, the companies usually demanded the longest possible connecting lengths for their future expansion options.

the Reichsbahn's connection requirements were also in this direction. On the other hand, industrial planning wanted to avoid the high costs of roads and supply lines for the long, narrow plots of land that would result, for economic reasons. A compromise had to be found here: excessive demands had to be rejected, but at the same time, the companies had to be given room for future development.

The same applied to the size of the sites in general. Most companies had grown from very small beginnings, had made do with the limited space available on expensive inner-city sites, and had often used them far beyond the permissible limits. Now, in a period of economic boom with a surplus of money, they were seeking to acquire land that was not available on the open market. Each company therefore usually demanded many times the amount of space it had previously occupied.

economic boom with excess money, they were seeking land that was not available on the free market. Each company therefore demanded several times its previous area. Finding the right balance here required careful consideration; after all, it was important to use the land, most of which had been taken out of agriculture, in a fiduciary and economical manner, while at the same time not hindering the healthy development of the companies.

Tripling the previous size of the property was a normal expansion ratio. The companies were prohibited from taking in subtenants for the temporary use of space that would not be needed until later and from subletting the underutilized connecting tracks. This was the only way to meet the excessive demand for these longitudinal plots of land. These plots could only be fully utilized economically by large companies, and priority was given to this use of the valuable land.

The main freight station was assigned the wholesale market and one of the new dairy plants, which had previously been inadequate in terms of size and hygiene, as well as a number of food wholesalers, cold stores, and fruit and vegetable processing companies, which required relatively small areas and secured the peripheral development with multi-story buildings. Economic considerations had to be taken into account here in particular, as the expensive plots of land close to the city along costly roads, which often had to be upgraded with underground railways and district heating, could not be used for large storage areas or single-story industrial buildings.

As part of the development, which tapers off to the north in terms of height and density, one of the large combined heat and power plants was to be built, with the architectural design being assigned to the industrial planning department. This gave the department's employees the opportunity to prove themselves as architects in addition to their urban planning activities. The close cooperation with engineers from the heating and energy industry resulted in excellent plans for these innovative energy production plants with full heat utilization.

It was not just a matter of supplying the city and the new buildings, including large residential projects; the energy and heating requirements of industry also had to be taken into account. The new industrial areas were not to be burdened with a forest of factory chimneys, nor were they to be characterized by a foggy cloud of smoke and soot spreading over the workplaces and residential areas. The energy, operational, and economic disadvantages of fragmented power and heat generation were too obvious for all companies not to agree to the combined heat and power plants, whose electricity was so much cheaper that they could continue to electrify their operations.

Even in the initial surveys, questions about electrical connection capacity, gas and water consumption, and heat requirements played a major role in the companies' approach to the individual industrial sites. Particular interest was focused on consolidating the power plants that were important for Munich, namely the Isar, Amper, Bayern, and Stadtwerke plants; their electrical output was to be fed into the city grid via a 100 kV ring main. Within this ring main, all overhead lines were to be avoided in future and the existing ones gradually replaced by underground cables. The road profiles for the industrial areas were differentiated depending on whether they were through roads or connections and whether they were single or double-sided streets. The dimensions and layout of the streets were designed to ensure maximum traffic flow and safety.

At first, too much importance was attached to the form of industrial buildings and their visible design. It was and still is no easy task to create a harmonious and non-uniform streetscape with normal residential buildings. How much more difficult was it to design functional buildings of various kinds, at least along the streets, to form a peaceful whole that was still in keeping with their nature? The development plans, which were checked against models, were idealistic visions. along the streets, at least, into a calm unity that was still in keeping with their nature. The development plans that were drawn up and checked using models were idealistic, and it remained uncertain whether they could be implemented in this strict form.

In any case, an attempt was to be made to ensure a minimum of functional design in the industrial areas. Another aim was to shield the workplaces from the street by building administrative and ancillary buildings on the street side in combination with green spaces.

The agency's green space plan provided for radial, permanently landscaped recreational and open spaces and extended them like wedges far into the city center, often in combination with water areas. An attempt was made to connect these main green zones with green strips along and within the industrial areas. However, these green strips, which served to break up and shield the area, would not have been sustainable in the long term if they had remained the property of the companies. When the industrial sites were divided up and allocated, they had to be cleared at the expense of all the companies located there and transferred to the city's parks department. Landscape gardeners were to take over their maintenance at the expense of the residents. This was the only way to ensure their long-term survival.

Even though it was assumed that companies would be given free rein in the grouping, construction, and design of their industrial facilities, and even though the development plans, building guidelines, and models prepared by the department were only intended as guidelines, the involvement of the industrial planning department was necessary in almost every case. The local building commission, as the city's responsible building authority, was required to review all building applications.

In most cases, improvements were necessary, which were then drawn up by the department. This was done responsibly and with strict objectivity, but without limiting itself to purely functional considerations.
It often turned out that by no means all Munich architects, even well-known ones, were capable of mastering industrial or commercial tasks, and that many plant managers only realized what they needed and how they could economically improve a production process that had often been running smoothly for years through appropriate structural arrangements after discussions and the necessary advice. On request, "trusted architects" were appointed who had proven themselves in the planning of industrial and commercial facilities while respecting urban planning requirements.
The many difficulties caused by the war in implementing industrial planning will not be discussed here. Nor will we discuss the construction measures taken by the armaments industry in urban planning locations that were mostly contrary to the intentions and ideas of the department, many of which survived the war. They cannot be blamed on the 'industrial planning of the General Building Council'. The two examples cited speak for themselves*.
The legal and economic aspects of industrial relocation, which were based on the industrial planning described above, were entrusted to the legal and implementation department of the agency. After identifying the industrial and commercial areas and carefully determining the timing of the requirement, the necessary areas and individual plots of land were declared "areas for redevelopment" in the Reich Law Gazette.
Among other legal consequences, this primarily offered the possibility of expropriation in return for appropriate compensation and ruled out speculative purchases and sales by private individuals. The allocation of land and the transfer of properties in accordance with the distribution plans were then carried out by the municipal department II to the companies named by the industrial planning department. All land and development costs incurred for roads, green spaces, and community facilities were apportioned according to the size of the new properties without profit.
The companies had to purchase the land; only in a few places, such as in the possible future expansion area of railway facilities,
was leasehold land also planned. The city was only a trustee; it was not supposed to be able to expand its land holdings cheaply and conveniently by means of "area declarations" issued by the department. The legal department kept a close eye on this and was very sparing in declaring such "areas," if only to avoid causing unrest, especially among the farming community. The greatest restraint in allowing access to the plans
in general, in their publication, and even in their disclosure to other authorities was required in order to prevent any land speculation. Other